



AKWESASNE



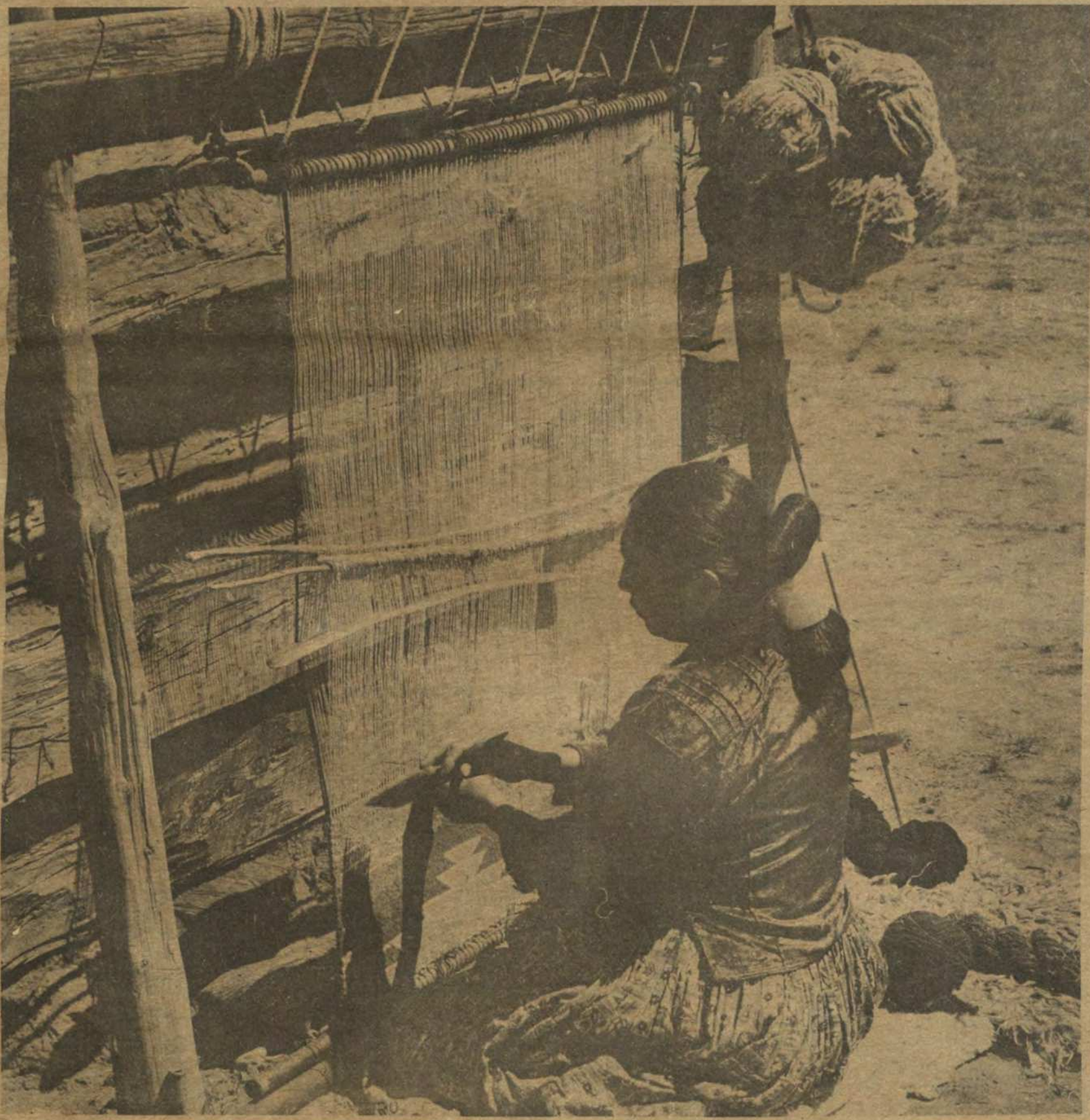
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AKWESASNE NOTES Photo: Richard Erdoes

IN THIS ISSUE:

- DIRECTIONS IN PEOPLES' MOVEMENT4
Aretrospective look at the history of abuses against Native Peoples and some suggestions for the future.
- MOHAWK NATION8
New moves by New York States' Trustees to deny Mohawk rights illustrate more than mere corruption.
- SURVIVAL CONSCIOUSNESS.....11
A call for a concerted strategy of sovereign communities in the fight for the survival of the future generations.
- ON THE ROAD TO REAL SOVEREIGNTY.....14
Native Peoples are not only proponents of appropriate technologies, they are among constant practitioners of these "new Old Ways."
- RESISTANCE AT BIG MOUNTAIN.....17
More than 8,000 Navajos and Hopis (some estimates say 9,000) face a 20th Century Trail of Tears this summer—a history of the issue and the latest update.
- OUR LAND IS NOT FOR SALE.....23
The Lakotas are re-inhabiting the Black Hills. Details on the non-violent liberation of Indian lands.
- MONEY VS. SOVEREIGNTY.....25
An analysis of the rip-off settlement of the most-publicized Land Claim case in recent history.
- BREAKING MEN'S MINDS.....29
The Behaviour Modification Control Unit at Marion Prison—The U.S. "Political Prison"—fascism as rehabilitation.
- LEONARD PELTIER.....33
A possible break coming up in the case of Americas' No. 1 Prisoner of War.



HOW IT IS WITH US

The more frustrated we get in our communications work, the more we know that the struggles of Native Peoples are gaining ground.

There is a lot to report these days from Indian Country, a lot of activism, a lot of pressure.

This issue of NOTES is full of those happenings: lands being re-inhabited; self-sufficiency projects gaining ground; results of court cases—our mailbags are full these days and writers of many nations are sending us their materials.

And every issue there are many articles left-over—many situations that need public discussion that must wait.

The Supreme Court Decision on the Crow Jurisdiction Case, for instance—a most significant reversal of judicial history, a blatant denial of Indian Land Rights.

We had articles also on the Guajiros of Venezuela; tribal peoples in the Phillipines; a new Union of Indian Nations in Brazil; a profile of Secretary of Interior James Watt, environmental enemy No. 1.

We wish we could get it all in. We wish our operation were such that the constant stream of information reaching our offices could be quickly and consistently fed out in the Peoples' Communication network.

We've said it before, that there is a need, a lot of room in this world, for other sovereign Indian newspapers, for a sovereign Indian News Service.

In the near future, it is our intention to organize and operate such a news service, so that on a monthly basis (ultimately on a weekly and daily basis) our news can be disseminated efficiently. Writers, photographers, editors and artists reporting on Native Struggles are urged to get in touch.

Maybe by late Summer, early Fall...

In the meantime, though, we will continue to do what we can, frustrations and all. In fact, our frustration is a welcome sign, a positive sign, underscoring, as it does, the growing numbers, the richness and diversity of Native Peoples in struggle.

For that we are thankful.

That's how it is with us.



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NOTES**

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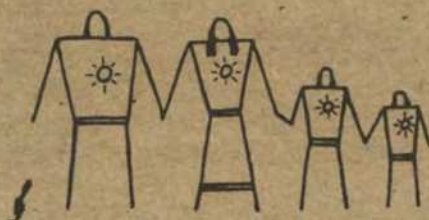
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NEEDED FOR NOTES: Canning equipment, pressure cookers, AA penlight batteries, S13 hearing aid batteries, baby clothes, jeans, sneakers, film (black and white) for a 35mm camera, file folders, office supplies, warm blankets and medical supplies.

THE AKWESASNE NOTES PEOPLE

Carol, Charlene, Beverly, Saka, Katsi, Ray, Pat, Forrest, Jose, Jeannie, Michael, Mary, Tsiorasa, Rasennes, Bertha, Angie, and John.



A NEW WAY TO HELP NOTES

Your contributions to AKWESASNE NOTES can now be tax-deductible. The Youth Project of Washington, D.C., a public foundation under 501-C-3 of the Internal Revenue Code has agreed to take NOTES under its wing as a research and educational project.

If you would like to support these efforts and receive the benefit of a tax-deductible contribution your check should be made out to Akwesasne Notes/The Youth Project, and sent to us here at NOTES.

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"What I see at stake here is the same thing that I see when they talk about the buffalo or the Golden Eagle or any other species of bird or animal that are on the verge of extinction. The Way Of Life that our grandfathers said that we should adhere to or be in harmony with is at stake. Our language, our beliefs, and all that which makes us a people are at stake.

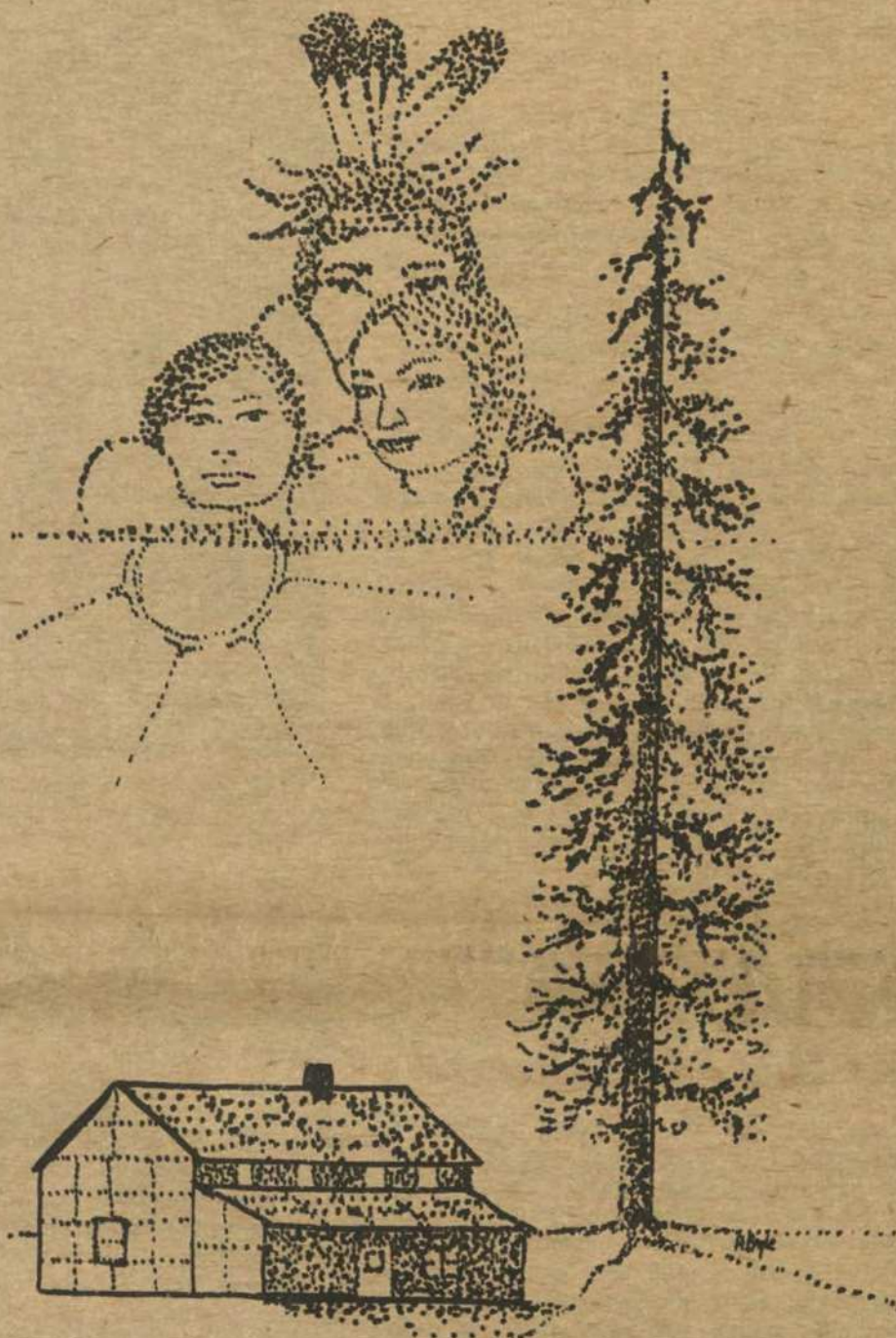
If we lose the control to determine our own affairs, then we lose all and we become nothing. So this is a fight not only of laws and principles, but it is a fight to survive, that we may have the spirit that makes the body mean something..."

---Sakokwenonkwas

We urge you to support the Mohawk Freedom School in any way you can.

Needed: Money for/and/or building materials, teachers, good-running vans, pens, pencils, writing notebooks, non-racist, non-imperialist books.

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AKWESASNE NOTES

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Directions in Peoples' Movement

The Indian plays much the same role in our American Society that the Jews played in Germany. Like the miner's canary, the Indian marks the shift from fresh air to poison gas in our political atmosphere. Our treatment of Indians, even more than our treatment of other minorities, reflects the rise and fall in our democratic faith... — Felix Cohen, father of the study of American Indian Law.

Helen Hunt Jackson wrote about injustice to Native peoples a century ago. European writers wrote about it before that, and some have written about it since then. The American Indian people have been abused, disinherited, their nations shamelessly attacked, their rights ignored or abused, their lands taken, their people killed or driven into exile on marginal lands. Jackson called it "A Century of Dishonor" and decried the fact that the United States had been carrying on a policy of deliberate aggression against the Indian peoples — a policy which had led the U.S. to break every treaty ever made with Indian people which contained any recognition of their rights as distinct peoples.

Generations of people, especially in North America and Europe, have known of these horrible injustices. In fact, the injustices have become almost a part of Americana, and are generally presented to school children as the unfortunate results of "cultures in conflict", something which shouldn't have happened but did happen in the the past and now it's too late to do anything about it.

The Indian people, of course, are also aware of the nature of these injustices. On many Indian territories, the people have spoken of the day when they will receive justice from the Americans or the Canadians — the day the Black Hills will be returned, the day the fraudulent treaties will be exposed and the people will get their lands back in the Cayuga or Oneida country, the Ojibway or the Cherokee lands. If it has become legendary among European peoples that the American Indians have been wronged, it has also been a kind of "reservation legend" that those wrongs would somehow be brought right someday, that somebody would find a way to bring the Indian people justice.

For years, (perhaps for something nearing two centuries) people have sought legal remedies to these problems. There arose among some of the people the thought that what was needed was an Indian lawyer who really understood the law — someone who could champion the Indian peoples' cause through the courts and bring justice where none was ever found before. That line of thinking was fairly strong in many communities during the first half of this century.

The U.S. policies toward Native peoples have been consistent in one respect — they have moved to destroy the Native peoples. Following the American Revolution, the United States embarked on a series of wars of extermination, and the extermination policy was a dominant theme until after the War of 1812. Then came the removal period — the U.S. policy which attempted to remove all the Native peoples to lands in the "INDIAN TERRITORIES" west of the Mississippi. There were some horrible chapters in that period — most, the Trail of Tears, which removed the Cherokee nation from their lands in Georgia was the most widely known, but there were other horrors of that period, many of them, which are less well known to the public.

The Removal Policy was interspersed with more wars of extermination as the United States enacted its famous (or infamous) Manifest Destiny, and the wars which ensued continued until the 1880s and are officially terminated in 1890, a convenient date because of the Wounded Knee massacre of men, women and children at a place which is now known on the maps as the Pine Ridge Reservation.

By that time (1890) the U.S. was in the serious process of taking Indian lands by fair means or foul. Congress passed The Dawes Act in 1886, an act which was said to be in the best interest of the Indians because it provided Indian families with "allotments"



1971 Fishing Rights Struggle in Washington State
Photo by Warren B. Anderson

but which was argued on the floor of Congress to be the largest land rip-off in history. Land rip-off it was. The Dawes Act caused millions of acres of Indian land to be transferred to the hands of non-Indians, many of whom were speculators. It was another shameful chapter in a history which consistently little but shameful chapters.

But even the Dawes Act, the armies, the wars and other assorted swindles failed to fully exterminate the Indian peoples. As the 20th century dawned, Native peoples still occupied some valuable lands — lands made more valuable as the need for natural resources of a growing industrial society expanded. At the period following World War I, the policy of disinheritance and alienation of Native peoples took a new turn. The new idea was that Indian people would be legally absorbed into the mainstream American society. The hidden agenda of that policy was that Indian peoples' remaining resources would also be absorbed, a fact which made the policy much more attractive to those who had little or no interest in making Native peoples into American citizens.

In 1924 the American Indian Citizenship Act was passed. It was not an act intended to convey benefits to the Indians, but one intended to convey benefits to the people who had interests in Indian lands and resources. It was Step One in the Plot to Take Indian Lands, though the public relations campaign which accompanied the act heralded it as a new step in "righting the wrongs" done to the Indian peoples.

Step Two (in the Twentieth Century) came in 1934. The federal government was very consistent in its objectives to the extent that, decade by decade, it enacted what it perceived needed to be enacted to disinherit the Indian people of all power over their lives and, not incidentally, their resources. In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act was passed. This was heralded by the propagandists of the day as an act which reorganized Indian government in such a way that it was more "democratic", as though a government set up by Washington under Washington's rules and with the support of Washington's military and with moneys controlled by Washington could somehow be more democratic. Indian people were induced to accept the Indian Reorganization Act by

promises that IRA governments would be more likely to be successful in applying for government funds, an inducement which continues to this day. There was, of course, a catch. To get the government funding, Indian people had to agree to do what the federal government wanted of them. It is a system called neocolonialism.

The next step in this process came to light in 1946 when Congress passed the Indian Claims Commission Act. The idea behind this act, according to the publicists, was to correct the wrongs done to Indian people when their lands were stolen either with the complicity of the Federal government or when the Federal government failed to act to protect Indian interests. It was not an entirely charitable act. It provided that Indian people could sue for recovery of damages for takings of land, but that they could only recover the value of the land in dollars at the time of the taking, and they could not recover any of the land regardless of the enormity of the injustice at the time of the taking. As a legal policy, it was unique in the annals of U.S. law. The hidden agenda of that act was that it enabled a small cadre of law firms which specialized in Indian claims work to become very wealthy while at the same time it effectively and forever quieted title to lands which, through the corrupt proceedings, the U.S. had admitted were illegally taken.

The need to quiet titles forever came about because the U.S. was in the process of enacting another policy which came to light in the 1950s — the Termination Policy. During the 1950s (under a Republican Congress) laws were enacted which had the affect of simply declaring that Indian peoples, nations, tribes or whatever, simply no longer existed, and that their lands were, in a word, forfeited. The Termination Policy was intended to achieve the long-held objective of the United States to destroy, once and for all, the Indian peoples.

Those legal policies, which for many Indian peoples were in fact life-threatening policies, were accompanied by social policies which shared the same agenda. The reservations had suffered a two-centuries long assault by social policy agents which intended to destroy the cultures of the peoples and thus, the ability of the Indian people to act as a people. Thus, while the wars

INDIAN PEOPLE WERE INDUCED TO ACCEPT THE INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT BY PROMISES THAT IRA GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE MORE LIKELY TO BE SUCCESSFUL IN APPLYING FOR GOVERNMENT FUNDS, AN INDUCEMENT WHICH CONTINUES TO THIS DAY. THERE WAS, OF COURSE, A CATCH. TO GET THE GOVERNMENT FUNDING, INDIAN PEOPLE HAD TO AGREE TO DO WHAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WANTED OF THEM. IT IS A SYSTEM CALLED NEOCOLONIALISM.

of extermination were in full swing, there were intensive missionary penetrations of Indian communities which had the effect of creating divisions and disunities in the Indian Country. The missionaries stayed on through the Removal Policy period and were joined during the 19th century with "educators" whose objective, as one famous educator once said, was to "destroy the tribe." Education has political objectives. The educators moved with a zeal equal to that of the missionaries to destroy the social fabric of the Indian peoples. It has been, sadly, a tremendously effective campaign. One of the things that the education policy set out to do was to acquaint, at least on a rudimentary level, the Indian people with the culture and legal processes of the United States. The idea was to present the United States as a just society with a "system" which, if allowed to work, could set right grievous wrongs. Armed with that ideology, Indian people in this century set out to set right the wrongs done to them through the political and legal processes which their "education" told them existed at the heart of the U.S. system of government and laws.

During the 20th century, the people on the Indian territories talked extensively of legal remedies to regain their lands and their self-government. That approach actually was strengthened and expanded during the period following World War II even though U.S. policy was growing increasingly hostile to Indian peoples everywhere.

The whole process reached a crisis in the 1960s. In 1968, Congress passed an act called the Indian Civil Rights Act. Much can be said about the intent of that act, but in fact many Indian people read the act in such a way that it seemed to them to protect their rights, at least against the neo-colonial governments erected by the Indian Reorganization Act. Within a short time, however, the courts moved to interpret the act in such a way that it did not protect their rights against the Tribal governments (which were and are in major ways controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Interior Department) in anything but a *habaeus corpus* provision. The Indian Civil Rights Act was a diversion, a promise without substance. It did not protect Indian rights, but merely individuals' rights in certain situations involving arrests by tribal authorities. By 1972, conditions on some of the Indian reservations were indeed intolerable, especially at Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. On that reservation, the BIA had set up a land tenure system which effectively denied the Lakota people any say in the use of huge parts of their land base. It was a complicated policy of land-use swindle which existed (and exists) there. The plight of the Oglalas is a good place to look for an understanding of the situations under which Native peoples live and the role of the BIA in their everyday lives.

The BIA has set up land tenure (land use) rules on Pine Ridge which are quite complicated but which serve a definite end. According to these rules, there are lands which are "allocated" to certain families. When the heads of those families died, the lands were divided among the heirs. Since a person has two parents, it is seen that one might inherit rights in two parcels of land. By the third generation, one might inherit rights to very small parcels of land from eight landholdings, each parcel of which might be too small to support, especially in situations where people had large families.

The BIA provides rules that amount to a dictum that in cases where the landholdings of an individual are too small and/or too scattered to provide an individual's support, the BIA would step in and manage the allotments (power they seem to derive under their "trust" responsibility). Thus the BIA steps in and then leases the lands of individuals to large

ranchers, paying the proceeds to the individual landowners. That policy, almost without saying, causes large-scale injustices. In some cases, the BIA was leasing the lands of Oglalas to large ranchers for as little as \$1 per acre per year. The rental moneys were then deducted from the family allowances of the landowners. Effectively, the "landowners" were dispossessed from their lands, and in effect, received no compensation and had no rights or power over the disposition of those lands. It has been a situation unique in U.S. law, but not unique in "Indian" law.

In 1972, the Oglala people organized an entity they called the Oglala Sioux Landowners' Association. This group tried to effect what amounts to a land reform policy under which they would reacquire control over their own lands. They ran head-on into IRA Tribal Chairman Dick Wilson whose job (and whose interests lie) in maintaining the status quo. His resistance to reform caused the people to organize the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization which soon had as its objective the impeachment of Wilson.

There was much general discontent in the Indian Country by 1972. Indian peoples in the urban areas had begun to respond to the experience of racism during the 1960s. In 1968, Indian people had occupied Alcatraz as a move to demonstrate their general discontent and as a statement of their intent to survive as a people. Alcatraz was the birth of a new movement in the sense that it served as a touchpost for Native people who were seeking change and it demonstrated to them that concerted action could have some results, however faltering those efforts may seem to us now. Also in 1968, the American Indian Movement was organized in the St. Paul-Minneapolis area, originally as a kind of citizens action group to protect Indian people from police violence.

That movement gained great popularity among an Indian population which had suffered decades of abuse. Native people who had been victims of the organization policies of the federal government which accompanied the Termination Era joined the movement *en masse*. AIM, meanwhile, reached out to

the Indian communities to oppose the injustices suffered by individuals at the hands of police agencies, championing the causes of men and women who had been savaged by racist court systems. Their efforts, which brought both publicity and the feeling of power which accompanies organization, generated widespread support among the Indian people. As the summer of 1972 wore on, word that AIM was organizing a protest march on Washington and the BIA on the eve of the 1972 Presidential Election spread throughout the Indian communities. When the caravans began arriving in Washington in October of 1972, there were several thousand supporters.

Dubbed the Trail of Broken Treaties, the march on the BIA evolved into an occupation of the BIA building at the very moment that the country was suffering through the national election which reelected Richard Nixon as president of the United States. The country was also going through the agonies of the social disintegration being felt as a result of the Vietnam War. The "BIA Takeover," although it was not a planned event and could hardly have been interpreted as a threat to the United States, apparently set in motion the federal response which declared a domestic war on the American Indian Movement and its supporters.

The situation on the Pine Ridge Reservation coincided with the rise of the American Indian Movement, although the two were hardly of the same roots and in the beginning had somewhat different objectives. The leadership of the opposition to Wilson at Pine Ridge called upon the leadership of the American Indian Movement for help, and in February 1973 the two groups initiated the occupation of Wounded Knee, an event which occupied the front pages of newspapers in the United States and Europe for nearly three months. It is interesting that through all that time, the root causes of the Wounded Knee action were never articulated through the press — i.e. the basic injustices which were the reason that the Oglala Sioux Land Owners Association and the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization had been formed.



Wounded Knee residents, mother and daughter, outside Pine Ridge jail enroute to Rapid City, May 8, 1973.

Photo from: VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE

Discipline – Respect – Endurance –

The events at Wounded Knee may not have done much to educate the American or the European public about the injustices suffered by the Indian people, but it did much to educate many young Indian people, and it did form at least the appearance of a leadership potential among the Indian people. The "Reign of Terror" conducted by the FBI and other military operations after the Wounded Knee occupation, the emergence of Cable Splicer and Garden Plot (domestic paramilitary counterinsurgency programs), the exposure of spies and infiltrators such as Doug Durham and the political assassinations conducted by the BIA police and other law-and-order factions ended for all time the question of whether or not there could be a peace movement toward justice for Indians in the United States. The "Wounded Knee trials" which followed saw FBI agents purjure themselves on the witness stand, witnesses which were coerced into purjuring themselves, and a federal judge actually publicly denounce the FBI's activities as an outrage to the American concept of justice. The trials also did much to educate the movement leadership to the nature of the system they were facing. There was a lot more resistance to reform than people had been taught. The legal systems consistently failed to protect peoples' rights in court against the abuses of power which were enacted in the name of the United States.

Those years (1973 to the present) have been a wild and tumultuous time for Native people. Movement people challenged the U.S. policies which prescribe the extinction of the Indian peoples through legal strategies designed to disempower and to disinherit and they were met by the paramilitary and military forces of the United States. It became clear that, to the Right Wing, Wounded Knee was used as a training ground for domestic war. Military groups were mobilized from all over the country. Information about secret

paramilitary organizations – private police forces which were not under the control of the government – emerged, painting a picture of an underground Right Wing army, similar in character to the "death Squads" of Argentina, which had access to official police and intelligence agency files, not only existed but was in a position to act. It was a frightening spectre.

Movement leaders were indicted and persecuted relentlessly by the State of South Dakota and by the federal government. People were arrested, assaulted, and forced underground. Many spent time in jail. Murder convictions were obtained against people on the flimsiest of circumstantial evidence, and those convictions resulted in long jail sentences. Those who were present, those who experienced that time, could not fail to understand that the United States and the people in power in the United States intended to suppress all opposition through whatever means necessary. Those who saw the Wounded Knee trials and the aftermath of the occupation of Wounded Knee would not easily be persuaded that there was any hope for justice for the Indian people.

By 1974, the movement leadership was in a position to call a meeting at Wapala on the Standing Rock Reservation in South Dakota. At that meeting, several thousand people approved a plan to create an organization (called the International Indian Treaty Council) to take the problems of the Indian people to the United Nations and other International forums. The Indian people within the movement had learned a real lesson – there is no justice for the Indian people under the domestic laws of the United States. There never will be.

It was a major stepping stone, a major landmark in the strategy of the people who had set out to struggle for the survival of the Indian peoples and nations. It was a strategy which emerged at a fateful time for the

movement. The Indian people were under a concerted attack on all fronts. The following summer, FBI agents attacked the Jumping Bull Ranch on Pine Ridge and a gun battle ensued. Two agents and one Indian man were killed in that incident, and the largest manhunt in history (up to that time) followed as the FBI and U.S. Marshalls invaded Pine Ridge in search of those who were suspected participants in the shootout. Eventually warrants were obtained for four men, three were brought to trial and the other, Leonard Peltier, escaped to Canada. The others were effectively exonerated for their part in the incident, some jurors calling what happened at Jumping Bull an act of self-defense. Peltier was extradited from Canada on the testimony of Myrtle Poor Bear, testimony which the FBI knew to be false and which Poor Bear later recanted. Peltier was then tried and convicted of complicity in the deaths of the two agents. He remains incarcerated in the federal penitentiary at Marion Illinois, one of the political prisoners whose history and plight truly sheds light on the American judicial system, and on the U.S. policies toward Indian people.

The Peltier story is particularly enlightening. At about the same time as the shooting FBI assault on the Jumping Bull Ranch, Tribal Chairman Dickie Wilson was signing over to the federal government a large tract of the Pine Ridge Reservation. Later, it was announced that minerals had been discovered on that tract of land.... It would stretch the credibility of all concerned to believe that this sequence of events were mere "coincidence." The United States had announced that there was a critical need for "energy" for the future, and reports surfaced which indicated that there were plans at high levels to create "national energy sacrifice areas" as sources of that energy.

In 1977, a large delegation from North America travelled to Geneva and gave testimony to the acts of



1978: The Longest Walk

Photo c 1979 by Gianfranco Gorgoni

THE NATIVE PEOPLES ARE UNDER ATTACK IN A NUMBER OF AREAS. THE ROAD TO SURVIVAL IS A COMPLEX PATH. MANY THINGS NEED TO BE ORGANIZED. SOME OF THESE THINGS ARE ECONOMIC IN NATURE, SOME ARE SPIRITUAL, SOME ARE POLITICAL. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA IS ONE THING PEOPLE CAN DO TO PROMOTE THEIR OWN SURVIVAL. DEVELOPING REAL LOCAL ECONOMIES ARE ANOTHER, EDUCATING PEOPLE ABOUT THE FORMS OF OPPRESSION AND THE NEED TO STRUGGLE IS ANOTHER.



the United States, charging that the United States was and is committing the crime of genocide against the Native peoples. This event sparked a new round of international outreach by Native peoples, and educated the Movement about the global nature of the struggle. Native peoples claiming their rights to land, culture, political sovereignty and survival continue to emerge. It is a movement, as a result, which represents the interests of millions and millions of people.

The Longest Walk in 1978 provided some evidence that the people in the movement had learned a great deal about the nature of the enemy. The Longest Walk attracted the largest gathering of Native people this century — perhaps, according to one eyewitness estimate, as many as thirty thousand people. The statement which ensued from that event was insightful. The people demanded an end to the most evil of the U.S. policies and specifically cited the Rule of TeeHitTon by which the courts have claimed that the U.S. can take Indian lands not protected by treaty without due process of law or compensation. The Longest Walk manifesto also attacked U.S. colonialism and neo-colonialism, and gave support to Indian political prisoners. The message to the United States from that gathering was clear. The Indian people demanded justice, and an end to exploitation. They supported the Navajo people who faced removal from their lands in the largest population removal in this century, and denounced the genocidal policies of the United States.

Since the time of the Longest Walk, the focus of attention has shifted, somewhat, from the immediate situation at Pine Ridge, to the Southwest and the resistance of the Traditional Navajos, and to the struggle of the Mohawk people at Akwesasne who have also been under threat of military attack since June, 1979. Complaints have been lodged with the Human Rights Commission of the United States, and with other International bodies. In 1980, a Russell Tribunal was held in Holland which found the United States guilty of international law violations after a number of Indian nations had charged the U.S. with acts of genocide and had cited actual U.S. domestic laws as evidence of the charges.

Incredibly, the story of the Indian peoples' struggle for survival is largely a story untold. There can be little doubt that the United States is continuing in pursuit of a policy which has as its goals the destruction of the Indian peoples and communities. They have said as much. There can be little doubt that those plans are motivated by the desire to exploit Indian people, and to dispossess them of their land and water. The largest dispossession of a people in North America is at this writing taking place on the Navajo country, a dispossession which will destroy a huge part of the Traditional Navajo people just as surely as the persecution of the Jewish people in Europe destroyed their communities four decades ago. There is practically no coverage of this momentous event in the press or other mass media. While the Chairman of the Navajo Nation flies to Washington in his Lear Jet, poor Navajos are being driven from their lands in order that the energy companies and a few wealthy Hopi families can use the lands to enrich themselves. Such is the U.S. policy relative to the Navajos and the Hopis. And just as surely as that policy is destroying those people today, just as surely as that policy initiated the Reign of Terror which blanketed the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1973 — 1977, just as surely as that policy resulted in the near massacre of a large number of people in the Mohawk Nation in 1980, that policy will come home to each and every one of the Indian communities, one at a time. The Native peoples of this land are under attack. That fact cannot be ignored, and it cannot be resolved in courts, because the courts are one of the instruments of the attack.

The move toward an access to the international community which might provide some publicity or perhaps even some international action is one of the steps which might lead to a small bit of relief from the worst abuses of the United States. The movement, which has also taken shape in recent years, toward the self-sufficiency of Native communities and peoples is also an important aspect of the overall struggle. But the largest move needs to take place among the Native peoples. There is not enough information reaching the communities to raise the consciousness of the Native people about the nature of the attack which they are under.

It is time to revitalize the movement. It is time to re-establish and strictly adhere to the Principles of Unity which can guide the Movement over the upcoming decades. True, mistakes were made during the last decade. True, at one point the man who was in charge of the public relations aspects of the International Indian Treaty Council, Jimmy Durham, actually condemned the Longest Walk, which was the most significant political event of 1978. It was a hectic time, and, sometimes, people rose to positions of prominence who had no real connection to Indian community struggles. It was a time of confusion, too, about the *ideology* and *methodology* of struggle which must arm the Native peoples in the upcoming decades. All that is becoming clearer now. Jimmy Durham is gone now, and most of the people who had sowed seeds of dissent within the movement (and within the American Indian Movement) have long since either ceased to be a factor or have surfaced within the Movement for what they are — power hungry individuals on an ego (or fund raising) trip.

Much has happened since 1978. The Navajos are now actually being removed from their lands, the Black Hills are on the verge of being taken from the Lakota, and the Republicans are in control of Congress and the

Presidency. The time has arrived to reorganize.

One of the areas which is in dire need of reorganization lies in the area of political objectives. The past decade seems to have illustrated that appeals for justice through the court systems will not serve the purpose of providing for the survival of Indian nations and peoples.

The Native peoples are under attack in a number of areas, and the road to survival is a complex path. There is no single solution. Many things need to be organized. Some of these things are economic in nature, some are spiritual, some are political. The clearest lesson of the past is that no one and no single strategy will "save" the Indian people from extinction. Only the Indian people can "save" themselves.

The proper question, at this time, is not "who is going to save the Indian people? but rather, "what are the Indian people doing to save themselves? Political organization in the international arena is one thing people can do to promote their own survival. Activities which develop real local economies are another thing. Educating others about the forms of oppression and the need to struggle to survive is another. Supporting people who are direct victims of oppression, whether they are political prisoners or people struggling toward self-sufficiency, or people who are facing forced dislocation is another.

Become active. Support those who are active. Take an interest in your specific Native culture.

The road to survival is travelled by those who take many steps. These steps have names Spirituality, Sovereignty, Self-Reliance, Independence, Power and others. Begin now to take those steps. Ask today what *You* are doing to Save Yourself from extinction.

In Defense of Native Peoples

The Emergency Response International Network—a conflict-resolution effort from the Editors of AKWESASNE NOTES—aimed at supporting Native Communities in struggle.

E.R.I.N. T-shirts are silkscreened on 100% cotton cloth. There are several designs—all about raising consciousness in the Defense of Our Mother Earth.

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The Mohawk Nation: case in point

The situation at Akwesasne illustrates the problems that Native peoples face in their attempts to obtain any form of justice under the social systems of the United States. It is also a story which can't be told in a few words. That's one of the tricks of the trade concerning Indian issues. They are not simple. They can't be told quickly and easily to an audience which has been conditioned to quick and easy news reports. Thirty seconds to the struggles in Northern Ireland, fifteen sentences to a war in the Mideast, a half minute to chemical dumps in Western New York. Life is short, there isn't much time. No time to read long, involved explanations about the oppression of distant peoples.

The Akwesasne story can't be told in a few sentences, or even a few pages. It is a complex story, and yet its basic message is simple. The Mohawk people are victims of immorality and corruption in government. They are victims because the United States intends to control Indian peoples in order to exploit the resources on Indian lands and to quiet title to lands which were taken from Indian people illegally. And the people in power are willing to go to any length to obtain their ends — even within the United States where it is important that the general population maintain some belief in the "system." To those who are interested in understanding how the "system" really works, the case of the Mohawk people is important and enlightening. Akwesasne. It is the Mohawk name for an Indian community which is located on the maps at that place where the Canadian provinces of Ontario and Quebec meet New York State. Akwesasne has a long and complicated history. The Mohawk Nation is one of the member states of the Haudenosaunee or Six Nations Confederacy. At the close of the 18th Century New York State adopted a policy intended to dispossess the Confederacy of its lands. When the United States government passed legislation intended to guarantee the fair treatment of Native peoples against frauds and illegal acts undertaken by states, New York State adopted a policy of simply ignoring the 1790 Non-Intercourse Act. New York made treaties and took lands in open violation of federal laws. No one in the federal government objected at that time, and no one in the federal government has moved to correct New York's actions in taking Indian lands to this day.

One of the things that New York did when it was illegally taking Indian lands was that the State legislature appointed three Trustees to be empowered to sign land transfers on behalf of the Mohawk people. These three Trustees, according to New York's own reconstructed history, "replaced" the Traditional form of government. The Mohawk people did not move to replace the Traditional Chieftainship form of government. New York State did that. Since that time, there has been a long history at Akwesasne of people struggling against injustice and asserting their rights to self-determination.

That history came to a modern climax in May, 1979, when a federal program began constructing a fence around Akwesasne. The Young Adult Conservation Corps was stopped by a Traditional Mohawk Chief, Chief Loran Thompson, who ordered them to cease the destruction of trees on his family's property. He allegedly confiscated some of their equipment and demanded that some settlement be made concerning the damage done to the property.

The New York State-created Elective System government (the Trusteeship); then ordered its police department to intervene and to arrest Chief Thompson. The Akwesasne Police called upon the State Police for assistance, and the two police agencies entered Chief Thompson's home and effected a rather dramatic arrest, injuring Chief Thompson and an elderly neighbor. Angered by this political use of a police system which the people of Akwesasne had never approved, a large number of people conducted a demonstration a week later (May 29). During the course of the demonstration several hundred people occupied the office building of the Elective System and its police department. There was a scuffle which resulted in no serious injuries or serious damage to property.



APRIL 15, 1980. MOHAWK UNITY DAY. The traditional Mohawk Chiefs and representatives of the reservation community meet in friendship. Over 1,000 people marched that day, of one mind that participation in Mohawk government must be based on truth and concern for the People.

WHY is it that Federal and State agencies deny them these inherent rights?

WHY do the Federal and State agents elect, finance and militarily uphold a system that will sell-out and/or ruin the AKWESASNE land base, bring in more liquor, gambling casinos, arson and police oppression?

There then followed a period during which the forces of New York State's Franklin County, the New York State Police and New York State attempted to crush the Traditional people at Akwesasne in an effort which can only be described as motivated by a thirst for revenge. The Franklin County Grand Jury handed down indictments arising out of the May 29 incident. Twenty-one people were named on 15 indictments and two others were indicted on charges related to the confiscation of the YACC equipment. The Akwesasne Police and the State Police then made preparations to arrest these people. The Mohawk people formed an encampment at Raquette Point, and through the summer of 1979 the two forces were at a stalemate. Then, on August 29, in the pre-dawn hours, the State Police struck, invading peoples' homes and making several arrests. State Police surrounded the encampment for several tense hours, threatening attack. Then they withdrew.

Court proceedings followed. During the course of the Court proceedings, the lawyers for the Traditional people challenged the jurisdiction of State courts on the Akwesasne Territory. They also challenged the validity of the Elective System which had been created by New York to act as the Trustee to facilitate the lease, sale or other transfer of Mohawk lands to New York State and its citizens.

In 1980, a Franklin County judge found in favor of New York State, saying that the State had acquired jurisdiction over Akwesasne because of a federal statute (which Mohawk people had protested at the time of passage) and that the Mohawk Nation, which had participated in international agreements with the United States, had ceased to exist and had been replaced by a legal fiction called the St. Regis Indians, a term invented at the time of the land cessions to lend some color of legitimacy to an otherwise obvious fraud.

During the Spring of that year, the activities of the Trustees became so abusive that a movement was initiated among people at Akwesasne to conduct a recall election to depose these Trustees. The recall vote was overwhelming in recalling all three Trustees. At the time of this attempted recall vote, officials from the

Interior Department — most notably Harry Rainbolt — came to Akwesasne and told the people that the Akwesasne people had no authority to remove these Trustees from office under the law. The District Attorney of Franklin County, Joseph Ryan, also intervened personally, offering his support for the deposed Trustees. Although the question of whether or not Mohawk people have the right to conduct a recall vote would appear to be an internal question, the issue was tempered by intervenors from the U.S. and N.Y.S. governments who expressed in the most forceful way possible (using the threat of military intervention) their position that the Trustees were "legal" under New York State law, and that the people of Akwesasne had no power to remove them from office.

The people did what they could to correct the worst abuses of that policy. In fact, the Mohawk people have consistently done what they could to correct these abuses. They elected Dr. Solomon Cook at the next election. Dr. Cook led a reform movement. The system which New York imposed in 1892 provides that there are three Trustees, one elected each year. The 1980 elections offered an opportunity, under that law, to replace only one of the three men who had been responsible for the trouble that was brewing at Akwesasne.

During the Spring of 1980, New York State, through the offices of the Governor, expanded the Akwesasne Police force from three members to a force of twenty people. On June 13, trouble came in large doses, a direct result of the State's policy of responding to a challenge to their created and imposed authority with force. On June 13 those Akwesasne Police led a group of vigilantes who set up a roadblock and encircled the encampment at Raquette Point with armed men. They were joined almost immediately by the State Police who used the vigilante force as a front while they tried to convince the news media that they were peacekeepers between two groups of warring Indians.

The encampment at Raquette Point was under armed siege for seven weeks. It is difficult, even now, to convey the extreme potential danger which threatened the people in the encampment during that period, especially on June 13 and 14. Some of the people in

Land - Self-Sufficiency - Language -

the encampment made out their last will and testament while their little children sat in their laps. The vigilantes issued threats that unless the encampment were to surrender, they would storm the perimeters and there would be bloodshed. The State Police issued similar threats. Later, a Mohawk man who was a witness signed a deposition in which he stated that he overheard a New York State Police officer briefing his men at the perimeter and ordering them to leave no survivors in the encampment. June 13 could have been Wounded Knee 1890 all over again.

Hundreds of people from the community mobilized to help protect the people in the encampment. They brought food, clothing, supplies, and men. They came to protect their own people against an attack by the State of New York. It was an overwhelming outpouring of support for the encampment and the struggle which had been intensifying for more than a year.

The siege ended when the State Police ran out of money. Newspaper accounts appeared which illustrated that the siege had exhausted the State Police budget for such operations. The State Police continued to maintain their position that they were merely upholding the law and that they were neutral parties caught between what was described as two factions of warring Indians, but even one of the local newspapers published an article which vented the suspicions of one of the eyewitness journalists that the whole event had been orchestrated by the New York State Police.

By early autumn, 1980, some things had become clear to the Mohawk people at the Raquette Point encampment. New York State had continuously imposed a government against the will of the Mohawk people and was intent on expanding the powers of that government in order that the Trustees would be enabled to act as surrogates for the State's will. New York State officials were also anxious that they show a face to the public which obscured this reality. It was well known that New York had a specific interest in supporting the Trustees at this time. New York and the Trustees were negotiating over a land claim of the Mohawk people for certain lands which were illegally taken from the Mohawk people between 1816 and 1825 in direct and flagrant violation of the 1970 Non-Intercourse Act. The State was providing backing in the form of military aid to the people with whom they hoped to negotiate a very favorable land claim.

It had also become clear that the courts were not the place that the Mohawk people could seek justice. The trials which had taken place the previous year had produced court decisions that not only upheld the position that New York had jurisdiction to hear the cases, but had also denied that the Mohawk people were legally Mohawks. Judge Plumadore ruled that the people at "St. Regis" were legally "St. Regis Indians" and that they may be ethnically Mohawk but they are not legally Mohawks. It may be the only case in the U.S. where a people who have a clear national identity have been denied that identity by a court of law. The judge was also willing to rewrite history in such a way that history served political ends. He made findings of fact which were based on pure and self-serving speculation, and which were open to severe and rigorous challenge on a factual basis, and then he denied an application for a fact-finding hearing on the issues in question. Justice in this system is not only blind, where Indian people are concerned, she is regularly betrayed.

During the fall of 1980, it surfaced that the same judge had issued handgun permits to two of these Trustees and that these men and several other civilians had obtained handguns through the offices of the Akwesasne Police Department. Not only had the State armed their political allies via the creation and arming of a Police force, the Akwesasne Police Department was apparently giving guns to their friends and political allies.

During this same period, the Indian Law Resource Center issued a report which stated that there was no legal basis in New York State law which supported the

existence of the Akwesasne Police. Local journalists were unable to find anyone at the State or federal level who could point to any legal basis for the existence of that police force. That information caused some initial embarrassment among State and federal officials, but they have generally spent the following months "stonewalling" the situation. They have not moved to disband this police force, but have allowed the situation to continue to exist without any attempt to correct it even under their own rules. Rather, they have spent these many months trying to find some words which would serve to legitimize their illegal creation. They have done that, basically, by pointing to a line in a BIA policy paper which stated that, were a police force to exist at Akwesasne, it would be eligible for funding. That assertion has been the major basis for the continued existence of the Akwesasne Police force well into the Spring of 1981.

Civil libertarians should take note. According to these rules, it is possible for a private political police force to exist in New York State if the Governor wants it to exist. At least one such police force, complete with guns and uniforms and access to uniform traffic tickets exists in New York State at this writing. It is called the Akwesasne Police. The idea that the "system" is a government of laws and not of the arbitrary decisions of the men in power appears to have elapsed in New York and especially in the Mohawk country.

The situation at Akwesasne didn't get any better during the Winter months. Lawyers for the Mohawk people under indictments stemming from the May 1979 incident presented the court with evidence that there had been irregularities in the grand jury proceedings which had led to the indictments. Specifically the stenographer was alleged to have used a tape recorder to take the minutes, or parts of the minutes, of the grand jury hearing. The law specifies that the stenographer cannot use tape recorders for that purpose. The judge found that the grand jury proceedings were improper and he effectively quashed the indictments. Eventually he also caused the warrants against those people who had not been arrested to be withdrawn also. The Franklin County District Attorney has appealed the decision, stating that if he loses the appeal, he will convene another grand jury and obtain new indictments. The warrants have been lifted for several months now, but we must expect that the District Attorney has every intention of prosecuting these cases and new warrants could be in effect any day.

The most embarrassing problem, from the perspective of the U.S. and N.Y.S., has involved finding a way to legitimize the police force which is the intended instrument of force to be used against the Traditional Mohawks and others who may disagree with New York State or its surrogates, the Trustees. In February, the Elective System called a meeting of the people at which they attempted to pass an ordinance giving them carte blanche authority to create a law and order code. The people at the meeting then convened refused to approve such an ordinance. In response, the Trustees sent memos to all of the government employees urging in very strong language that they attend the next meeting and approve the law and order code. There was such a meeting, and the law and order code, or at least a license to create one, was adopted ostensibly by a 77 to 75 vote of the hands. Although there were



serious questions raised about the eligibility of some of the voters who voted in favor of this move, the law and order resolution has since been used by the State and the federal government as practically a constitutional convention.

The people in the community responded by circulating a petition which eventually acquired some six hundred signatures. The petition calls for the disbanding of the Akwesasne Police and states that these people never approved any law and order code or any plan to create a law and order code and do not approve of such. Over three hundred of these signatures, a number roughly equal to the greatest number of people who have ever voted in an election at Akwesasne, were members of the "membership role" of the New York State recognized elective system. The rest were residents of Akwesasne.

In late April, Mohawk people journeyed to Washington to present the petition. Interior Department people deny responsibility for the problems at Akwesasne. Interior personnel say that what is happening at Akwesasne is an internal affair, and that they cannot act on the petition. They know, of course, that Interior Department people came to Akwesasne last year specifically to support the Trustees against the majority of Mohawk people at the time of the recall election. In fact, Harry Rainbolt, was present at this meeting, although he reportedly left the room when this topic was raised. Interior Department people have worked tirelessly behind the scenes to support their political allies within the Elective System. They suggested, rather facetiously, that the petition should be presented to the Trustees.

Interior officials went on to disclose that in February, they had met with the trustees in Syracuse, New York, and that the Trustees had signed a paper adopting certain sections of 25 CFR, the Code of Federal Regulations. They expressed surprise when informed that the adoption of this code had been kept secret. The Interior Department (and the BIA) state that their only actions in the situation which created and support the Akwesasne Police is that they had adopted as policy the statement that a police force at Akwesasne is eligible for federal funding, and that they have not authorized the creation of any police powers for any police force which may exist there. When asked for a letter to that effect, the person who made the statement refused, saying that such a letter would need approval from a higher Interior official. You might say that the meeting with the Interior Department people had a Kafkaesque air about it.

The adoption of 25CFR by the Trustees must be viewed as a desperation move on the part of the Elective System. For a decade or more, the Interior Department has been urging that, since the Mohawk people have never adopted a constitution, they must

GOOSEMYER



Self-Government — — One Mind —

do so to obtain legitimacy. They have tried many times and spent huge sums of federal money in the process, but they have never been able to persuade the Mohawk people to adopt the constitutions which they propose. At the present time, there is no chance that such a constitution would be adopted by the Mohawk people. The adoption of 25 CFR is a way of circumventing that requirement. By adopting 25 CFR, they can act without a constitution. They will simply act under the authority of the agreement with the federal government. The implications of this move are almost humorous in view of the recent history of events. Only a year ago the Elective Trustees and the New York Courts were basing the entire validity of the Elective System on sections of New York State law which created that system. Now, it would appear that they have reversed themselves. They have discovered, suddenly, that they are acting under the inherent sovereignty of the Mohawk Nation (or the St. Regis Indians!) an sovereignty which they quite recently denied existed. They are adopting the Code of Federal Regulations as a function of their inherent sovereignty!

The engineer of this legal fancy footwork is quite probably Arthur Gajarsa, lawyer for the Elective System and the man who has been instrumental in the negotiations involving the land claims of the "St. Regis Indians (and also the Cayuga Nation). Arthur Gajarsa was Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs back when the BIA enacted the controversial recognition of the St. Regis Elective System for the purpose of eligibility for federal funding. Even Congressional aides have stated privately that he makes no bones about the fact that he is in the Indian game for money. He is viewed as a man who set himself up to make millions of dollars in private practice as a lawyer in these land claims.

The situation faced by the Mohawk people is one which should serve to educate people to the processes at work which are intended to control Indian people by the power interests of the United States. The Mohawks face a clear Catch-22 situation. They cannot obtain justice in hostile courts which not only refuse to recognize their sovereignty but which actually have created case law which upholds the rather questionable conclusion that they are not even properly Mohawks! They then set out to remedy some of their internal problems through calling for a recall vote within the system some of them thought they in some way controlled, and they were told that the controlling force of that system was New York State law. The state then acted in concert with a vigilante force to create a military occupation of Akwesasne, an occupation which ended only because the State ran out of money. When it was revealed to the public that the Akwesasne Police force was illegal, the state did nothing to disband this police force. That the Akwesasne Police continue to function is the clearest evidence that this police force is not intended to protect the lives or property of the Mohawk people, but rather is in place to intimidate people who object to the policies of the State. At this moment, that police force serves absolutely no other purpose.

The Mohawk people then signed petitions to have the Akwesasne Police disbanded. Federal officials, knowing full well that they play a primary role in the existence of that police force, refused to write a letter which clarified the position that they have stated verbally that they have not officially sanctioned any police authority at Akwesasne.

The Trustees, meanwhile, have adopted 25 CFR, or at least parts of it. They have carefully scratched out those provisions which provide that there shall be penalties for certain classes of alcohol abuse. The Code conveniently provides that two-thirds of the Trustees can appoint a judge who cannot be removed from office except by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for cause. Another election looms on the horizon. It is possible that the Mohawk people may elect a man who is not hostile to the Traditional people. He may join Dr. Cook on the Tribal Council to find that the

previous Trustees have put into place a judge who has as yet undetermined powers, who was not elected by the Mohawk people, who derives his authority not from the Mohawks but from the CFR, and who cannot be removed by the Mohawk people.

The adoption of that Code does provide some very thin veneer of legitimacy for the Akwesasne Police. Since it has been demonstrated that the Akwesasne Police may not enforce New York State law, and since there is no Mohawk code for it to enforce, the Code provides for at least the appearance of some law which the Akwesasne Police (nee vigilantes) may enforce.

The code itself is an interesting body of law. The Elective System carefully scratched out those sections pertaining to bootlegging or moonshining and other alcohol violations. (One of the Trustees' family is alleged to operate a bootlegging establishment.) It provides jail sentences for such offenses as

Sec. 11.59 Adultery "Any Indian who shall have sexual intercourse with another person, either of such persons being married to a third person, shall be deemed guilty of adultery and upon conviction thereof shall be sentenced to labor for a period not to exceed 30 days"

and

Sec. 11.60 Fornication: "Any Indian who shall have sexual intercourse with another person, neither of such persons being married, shall be deemed guilty of fornication and upon conviction thereof shall be sentenced to labor for a period of not to exceed 25 days"

and

Sec. 11.61 Illicit Cohabitation: "Any Indian who shall live or cohabit with another as man and wife not then and there being married shall be deemed guilty of illicit cohabitation and upon conviction thereof shall be sentenced to labor for a period not to exceed 30 days."

And so on and so forth. There is a law and jail sentence for conviction of Giving Venereal Disease to Another, Refusing to Aid Officer, Violation of an Approved Tribal Ordinance.

The Tribal Council kept the adoption of this Law and Order Code a secret from the people at Akwesasne. It came to light at a meeting of people from the Mohawk Nation with some people from the Interior Department. The Tribal Council has done everything in its power to keep all information about this Code from the Mohawk people. In fact, they signed the agreement with the federal government on February 4, three days before the controversial meeting at which authorization to adopt such a code took place! The Tribal Council seems to be willing to go to any lengths to gain some legitimacy for their police force. That they would keep secret the adoption of a whole Law and Order Code gives some indication of the problems which the Mohawk people face.

To say that this proposed (and apparently adopted) system of law begs for selective prosecution is to master the art of understatement. The Traditional people could face a new level of persecution if these "courts" decided that they do not recognize Traditional Longhouse marriages. The police under this system could conceivably arrest practically every Traditional adult at will and charge them with Illicit Cohabitation. You had to be here and see the Elective System and the local courts in action to appreciate how real that possibility is.

As this is written, we are awaiting the reactivation of the warrants for the arrests of nearly two dozen Mohawk people. The Mohawk people have, thus far, taken every possible step to achieve some kind of remedy to the greivous wrongs committed against them, and all to no avail. A person with a suspicious mind could conclude that they are victims of a conspiracy in high places, and that racism and injustice run rampant in the United States courts and administrative systems. A person with a suspicious mind would be right.



The Winter 1981 issue of AKWESASNE NOTES (Vol. 12, No. 5) contains an article on page 33

entitled "Mitch Farmer — A Warrior Passes On." That article has wording which imparts an improper message. It recounts apparent events which led to the death of a Young Mohawk man, Mitch Farmer, while on a hunting expedition on a woodland reserve in Quebec.

People who have read the article have stated that it leaves the reader with the impression that Mitch Farmer was completely inexperienced in the woodlands that he had gone on this trip for the "sport" the "glory" of hunting. Both of those impressions are erroneous.

To the best of my knowledge, Mitch Farmer was an experienced hunter and woodsman. The article states that he became lost when he split off from the hunting party and goes on to speculate that he might have found his way if he had been carrying a map or a flashlight. It goes on to suggest that he also might have survived had he built a fire or a shelter.

These statements leave the reader with the impression that Mitch Farmer was simply inexperienced in woodlore. That is not correct. Professional hunters from the North become lost. In fact, practically everyone who hunts extensively becomes lost at some time or other. It has been known to happen that even Cree hunters who have spent their lives in the bush have become lost and have died of exposure. That kind of accident is not the result of lack of experience.

We will never know what happened during those final hours of Mitch Farmer's life. He may have become ill or he may have been injured. It is possible that he could have been blinded, in which event it would have been impossible for him to backtrack. Some of the people on the search party reported that it was so cold that it was extremely difficult to build and maintain a fire, and one man stated that he believed it would have been impossible for one man to have been able to supply a fire with enough wood under those conditions.

The article is also worded in such a way that the reader is left with the impression that the hunting expedition may have been a sporting adventure. Mitch and the others went on this hunting trip to get meat to help feed the encampment of people at Raquette Point who have been involved in a struggle with New York State for nearly two years. He was not hunting for sport.

We apologize to Mitch Farmer and his family for the errors of assumption which this article contains. It is a general rule in journalism that in reporting an event to which there were no witnesses, all possibilities should be mentioned and explored. In this case, we failed to do that to the point that readers who did not know the man could draw entirely wrong conclusions. Mitch loved the woods. No one knows what happened in those final hours to cause his death. He was also a good man, and he is greatly missed by all of us.

— John Mohawk

Survival Consciousness

Between issues, our editors often go on the road, speaking with peoples' groups and communities. The following is an expanded version of a talk by Ismaelillo recently at Ithaca, New York.

I work for a newspaper called AKWESASNE NOTES.

The NOTES is a unique newspaper. AKWESASNE NOTES is published by the Chiefs' Council of the Mohawk Nation, League of the HauDeeNoSauNee.

I was asked to speak about Indian sovereignty.

AKWESASNE NOTES is a sovereign newspaper. We cover the news from Indian Country, all over the Western Hemisphere. We document, research, keep in touch with a growing number of Native Nations, native communities in struggle—that is our main area of coverage. We think the major journalistic story world-wide today is the story of land-based peoples who are being displaced from their lands. We believe that the Native Peoples are at the forefront of that, particularly those that retain their traditional ways, and through our newspaper we try to offer them a forum in which to present their messages.

I was asked to speak about sovereignty.

The Mohawk Nation is a sovereign nation. We are published from one of its territories on the banks of the St. Lawrence River, from what is currently known as New York State on the American side and Ontario and Quebec provinces on the Canadian side.

Indian sovereignty. A big topic. And it is a big topic in itself that today, in 1981, most people don't know that there are still Native Traditional governments—not B.I.A. bureaucratic structures, not New York State Funding Channells on Indian land—but Traditional governments which are the legitimate representatives of specific Peoples.

Peoples who constitute nations, who recognize themselves as such, and who have every legal and historical definition of being nations—ie. language, territory, economy, religion, history, in many cases treaties—and a wish to continue to be themselves as a distinct people of the world.

That is news to most people of the world, certainly to most American people. I think we could find more knowledge of that being circulated in Europe these days, than there is in the United States and Canada.

■ ■ ■

I wanted to show you this painting, which is the cover of the NOTES 1981 calendar. I wanted to show it to you not only because it is a beautiful painting, which speaks to people right away, but because inside of it is a kind of partial description of the life ways of the HauDeeNoSauNee League, to which the Mohawk Nation belongs.

What you see here is an Indian woman who is flanked by the whole Earth, with a fetus growing in her womb, representing the Earth itself. It's one of the traditional concepts.

What you see are some symbols which are important to the living HauDeeNoSauNee culture. One is that the Earth is a woman, female, earth and woman—the same. Not only is the Earth female, it is a Mother, and we are all the children of the Mother, the Earth. That's a concrete reality, for the human beings as well as all the plants, animals, all life comes from that Mother Earth, goes back to her.

In her right hand she holds the corn, the basic sustenance, the fruit of her labor with the Earth, from her garden. In her left hand, she holds the antlers of the Chiefs, and the sacred wampum, which symbolize her authority to chose the Chiefs.



THROUGHOUT HISTORY INDIAN PEOPLE HAVE BEEN ERADICATED FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS MOSTLY HAVING TO DO WITH THE FACT THAT THERE WERE OTHER ENTITIES—SOMETIMES GOVERNMENTAL, SOMETIMES PRIVATE ONES—WHICH WANTED LAND.

THEY WANTED LAND FOR THE WRONG REASON—TO EXPLOIT IT.

In the sovereign HauDeeNoSauNee governments, the women are the base of authority. They also lead the planting. They provide life, they hold power.

Lines of authority. The survival of independent nations and cultures—ancient cultures, cultures which go back to the very beginning, which matured and coalesced before such concepts as individualism, materialism, racism and exploitation had developed.

These things are alive. In the midsts of a culture where precisely those negative values appear dominant, these cultures survive.

And that is not even a description of HauDeeNoSauNee culture. That's just some very few words, barely scratching the surface. I mention it, not because I am any kind of an expert of it, but because it is an example of living, sovereign culture inside the boundaries of what we now call the United States.

Is this news to a lot of you?

It is to many people yet, including a lot of people who should know and should recognize it. Even some Mohawk People.

Or maybe this wasn't news to all of you. Maybe you have heard of this in other places. You might have. Because there isn't just the HauDeeNoSauNee that share this Turtle Island Consciousness. As you travel across North America, north and south to the tip of Tierra Del Fuego, you will find that there are many Indian Nations like that, which still have a definition of themselves, which still have a traditional government, which still follow their Native Ways.

The Hopi have it, the Lakota have it, the Cheyenne

have it, the Dineh or Navajo have it, the Cree have it, the Western Shoshone have it, the Seminole have it, the Pueblo have it, the Guaymi of Panama have it, the Campa of Peru have it, the Yanomamo of Brazil have it, the Guajiro of Venezuela have it—there are many, many more. In many places it was eradicated.

At the Mohawk Nation, the traditional people are struggling to retain it. They are fighting for the right to raise their children as Mohawks.

There is a school—the Mohawk Freedom School.

There is a nation.

There is a traditional Mohawk government. There is a struggle for sovereignty, for natural sovereignty.

We have a feeling, a sort of historical belief—belief, by the way, which is based on the most exhausting historical and academic research—a belief that once all peoples were native, that natural sovereignty as the basis of respect and peaceful coexistence was a shared agreement by all peoples.

No longer.

The process of displacement of peoples, colonialism. The exploitation of lands and the subjugation of peoples, Western Materialism and the historical insanity of super-industrialization.

There is a history built on greed, on racism, on superiority.

We know, more or less, how this recent history began, about 10,000 years ago, how it developed and spread throughout the Mediterranean region, then north, detribalizing Europe and how it found its way across the oceans to this continent.

It is a mammoth thing—hard even to understand, and much more difficult to combat.

It destroys People's memory, Peoples' cultures.

It destroys tribe and nation it fragments the family.

It turns all the positive values upside down. It holds up cynicism it ridicules the expectation of truth. It promotes distrust and insecurity it oppresses integrity. It promotes the momentary pleasure it absolutely disregards the future generations.

It kills people and it kills peoples.

It destroys the Earth.

It is a corporate world, an unnatural world, a cosmopolitan, urban world.

This world extracts, is organized to extract, to transform wantonly, to exploit.

It exploits, most of all, the land. It is intent on destroying the land.

Of course, we understand that water is in the land. Water and land are destroyed simultaneously.

Once, all peoples understood the real value of land.

No longer. Now there are few peoples who understand land, fewer yet who understand the Natural World.

There has been a long history of colonialism.

Throughout history Indian People have been eradicated for a variety of reasons mostly having to do with the fact that there were other entities—sometimes governmental, sometimes private ones—which wanted land. They wanted land for the wrong reason—to exploit it. Farming, logging, mining. Clear it, work it,

Community - Cooperation - Nationhood

dig it. They wanted rivers and the use of waterways, they wanted to push, to forge ahead, to break the frontier. An agitated people, a people who did not remember how to make peace with their surroundings, a large organism, creating forts, towns, cluster housing projects, cities-and extracting the materials of the Natural World and the labour of peoples to feed itself.

That's how we perceive it. Civilization. From the word "civitas"--the city center. Civilization-city. A non-life-supporting place-extracting. That's how we perceive it. That's a basic understanding of that.

The transformation of basic sustenance into consumer goods.

The people who live on the Earth and belong to the Earth, derive their sustenance from the Earth and have an understanding of that and through many thousands of years have grown to have a communication, a real concrete communication, with other life forms and with the Earth itself and with the elements--those people get eradicated. They get labeled as obstructions to progress, as parasites, as people who don't know how to use the land, as people who have an incapacity for civilization, as dumb people, as inferior, as non-human. In the course of that surfaces something which is known in the modern world as racism and which is used as a justification for the enslavement and destruction of other people by people who consider themselves superior. That, as a process has been in motion in America for at least 500 years and we must recognize and fight its reflection still today.

The fight today, in political terms is one of preserving nationhood, of preserving life, of making other people understand that there are pockets of territory where the particular native people there want to exist. They want to have enough land to grow food for their people. They want to have the liberty inside that territory to decide for themselves four basic processes which at NOTES we call the processes of sovereignty. These are the four basic processes which a people must control in order to call themselves a sovereign people.

They are Health--a people must have its own health system inside the People.

Government--a people must have its own government or its own ability to resolve disputes among the people, as opposed to going to 'someone else' government.

Education--a people must educate its own young so that their sense of themselves, their culture, their language will not be eradicated. And so that the best talent in the community won't be put through some kind of cycle that they end up working in Chicago or New York, or somewhere-- but rather that they put their best talents right back into their own people.

Economy--a people must have its own economy within its territory, in ways that reinforce the Earth's ability to renew life and to renew itself.

If a people have all those, those are the concrete processes of sovereignty. In the Indian movement today, if we look at Indian newspapers, the word sovereignty is a basic word. Sovereignty of Nations. Sovereignty of Peoples. It is a very misunderstood word. Those four processes are central to it. And there is one more that kind of covers them all, and that is the People's spiritual sense of themselves. That which tell them what their relationship is to the Creator's forces of Life as a people--their religion--all the other ones together make this one thrive.

Those are the overall processes that the People are working to defend and revitalize. Our schools, our government, our children, our territory--trying to use

that framework to build the nation. Many Indian Nations are doing that. Peoples of many different races, many communities are also doing the same.

We are looking at that being the basics, the fundamentals, of what we relate to as a grassroots movement in America for some kind of survival of the people.

In the Mohawk Nation culture, the women leaders instruct that when the Chiefs sit in council, they must council for the benefit of the People, that as they sit in council they are to think and come to decisions that will insure the survival of the seventh generation to come. They have to think that way. They can not make a decision today that will go against the survival possibilities of the seventh generation.

So, you know, a nuclear plant probably wouldn't be approved there, by that kind of government.

That's part of the culture and it happens today. It is still alive. That is what white America doesn't seem to understand, but the People understand that those prayers are alive, that Way of Life is alive in America--in fact, many places in the world.

In many places, it has been devastated. It has been eradicated. The people are in a total confusion, in tremendous social and health problems. Because it is a fact that to remove a People from their lands is to commit genocide, is to commit the murder of a People.

A People can not survive without their land.

And the overwhelming battle is over land--how to secure it, how to hold it. That is the issue. That is what the elders say. Don't sell the land. Appreciate the land. Take care of it and it will take care of us. The land is a Mother.

But where it is alive, those people hold on to those Ways. And they are the legitimate People that can speak for the land in the Americas. The traditional governments and Elders' Councils, more and more, as I think of the overall movement of peoples in the Americas, they are the only ones who can bring some unity and some sense of cohesion to a very scattered broad spectrum of choices and contradictory ideas that the so-called movement in America has.



QUESTION: Do you see anyway that there could be a kind of integration of the Indian Nations?

Integration. Like busing and fighting to get in the system? No, I don't know any Indian nationalists working toward that. Working to get lost in that great melting pot where supposedly everyone is equal and free. No, that melting pot idea is basically a very slick excuse for destroying peoples and for stealing land.

Pushing for integration is one of the results of racism, an example of that oppression which makes you a mimic of your own oppressors. It's a dead-end for any people struggling to be free.

Like Phillip Deere said once on a T.V. talk show when the interviewer asked him if he wasn't really down deep wishing he could join the American Way.

"I wish somebody would explain to me sometime just what is the American Way. Maybe you could explain

to me what is American Way," he said.

The interviewer stammered a few seconds and asked another question.

What got that interviewer and baffled him is that he came face to face with the perception that there is a higher integration, the kind that folds things together, that perceives the inter-connectedness of life.

That integration is happening all the time, has to happen all the time, integration of the positive values, the life-enhancing concepts that all peoples' cultures share--that kind of integration is also what I mean by unity.

All these things are problems of definition and prejudices on all sides, lack of understanding and then, the development of maturity, guidance.

There is an old prophesy in Indian Country. There are a lot of prophesies in Indian tradition that tell about the time we are living in history now which is called the time of the purification. The time when basically the Earth's ability to renew itself will be tampered with so much that the Earth will begin to eradicate that which is stopping its ability to renew itself. They talk about this time in history in very detailed way.

This is just a brief, translated version. I am sure it is not complete. In fact, just the translation makes it incomplete but the sense of it is this, that at this time in history the process of the deterioration of the natural world would be seen.

At that time, it says, in what is called the Western Civilized ways of thinking, the industrialized peoples' way of thinking, there would be much fragmentation. It would all be divided. Truth would be divided into many branches. This would be like the "ologies". Theology, biology, botany, physics, geology, ecology -- etc., etc. It says that in each of these branches, the best minds, the best people in each science, would recognize the problems caused by each of their systems.

The botanist would say: oh, the Amazon jungles will be destroyed--this is bound to affect the world's climate...

The nuclear physicist would say: oh, this is just too poisonous, we can't store it. We are going too far...

The social scientist would say: oh, a nation of strangers, so much crime, too much mobility, it is becoming impossible to come to grips with it...

In each of the "ologies" individuals would recognize it, wake up. But the system, as a whole, would not be able to focus upon it, there would be too much division, it would be too fragmented by then, the process would be too cancerous by then.

It says the old Indian belief would start to come up again, because it is the one that ties it together. It would begin to bring a cohesion, true ways of looking at Life.

What began to surface, to go back to those areas of sovereignty, what we've begun to see in our traveling around America, is that there are many movements that happened in America over the last ten years, well, since the middle 1960's, when America broke up a little bit, when that Disneyland facade broke down a little, a door opened a crack. There is a few hundred thousand people, maybe a few million people that went through that door before it started to close. The consciousness door that opened up at that time, a lot of people picked it up. It was like a wave went through.

Integrity · Unity · Survival · Struggle

(I should say here that I think that door was almost closed and now Reagan just slammed it so hard, he cracked the hinges.)

But, it was a fragile time, scattered thinking, a lot of individualism. A lot of repression came down, then a lot of money, confusion, cooptation.

Some people got impatient and wanted to engage repression at all turns (the Repression always obliged). Others survived by concentration on their area of specialization. Out of that time came some ideas. In specialized fields — in education, in health, in food and nutrition, in the arts and crafts, in music, in appropriate technologies, in the movement for the rights of women, even in occupations like the social services — everybody, it seems, has had a movement touch their lives.

So, you've got all these things going on and how do all of them connect so that they don't fall apart and may actually hold each other up?

Because the people living on this continent these days are facing some survival threats on a grand scale—and we are going to have to find some very efficient ways of organizing, of preparing ourselves.

The sign, previously hidden to the blind spot of the rip-off mentality, are now most pervasively evident.

There is a cancer epidemic in the industrialized world. Check out the statistics for the last fifty or so years. Its evident.

We are looking at chemical and radioactive contamination beginning to backfire in virtually every major community in North America. It is a real problem.

We are looking at hundreds of cases of contaminated water. Huge aquifers that spread under several states are being found to be contaminated.

I could go on. There is no lack of bad news. But the problem with this kind of news is that the reality of it doesn't go away.

It so happens that in this Western society, this whiteman's society is in a real jam right now, at this time in history. It is like the junkie that needs his fix.

It needs an energy fix—right now.

Of course, the junkie doesn't NEED a fix. He is trained to need a fix. And consumers, a society of consumers is a society of junkies. A trained society of junkies. On the world scale—an industrial, a corporate upper class.

North America—which has about 6% of the world's population, uses up 50% of the world's resources. It does that for its population and it calls it the "free world."

And it is a "free" feeling—a feeling of unattachment, it creates what anthropologists these days are calling the "biospheric" man. A population that is so removed from its processes of survival that it is totally oblivious to the damage at the other end.

A coopted society—very difficult to mobilize.

Now, a threatened society—used to gimmicks which are about to get very expensive.

But the question is always how do we break away? How do we free ourselves?

Well, let me say, at the risk of being redundant; support the native peoples in struggle. Unify behind their survival issues. Identify your people, develop respect, work together. On your own. Every day, develop your consciousness of the People, of protecting the Earth. Sovereignty, survival politics. The education people must conceive of the people—then they have to educate the ones with children, conceive of the People, then make the children, make the family the ones that know about gardening, about land, garden with a consciousness of your people in each area, build the feeling of community, build the people.

So what I am saying to answer your question is there are ways that the people can come together and not be coopted, not be confused—but there has to be cohesion, there has to be strategy on concerted scale, there must be commitment.

There must be many free territories, many communities, many nations again. Places not to go and escape to—but places to struggle from. To struggle from. Open up a little ground, prepare, build the community, the nation. Buy land, acquire land, settle land, recover lands, secure what land you have got. Watch out for your kids, raise them yourself, don't lose them to that big melting pot. Teach them how to raise food out of the ground, teach them of the place that they belong to.

In the course of doing that, in the course of re-building the nation, you become stronger and as you become stronger you are bound to clash with the forces that are trying to oppress you.

These last two years the Mohawk Nation has been in a fight.

Many other Indian Nations are in a fight.

Today in the Navajo Country, the Big Mountain People, who are a nation unto themselves, about 9,000 of them are preparing themselves for a battle this summer against the forces of federal SWAT teams, BIA agents and policemen, all kinds of forces which have behind them the goal of removing the Big Mountain Navajos from their lands so that those lands can be mined, and a lot of money can push up the profit margins of Peabody Coal Company.

That is happening. There are many examples.

If you read the NOTES, well, it is always full of examples of that fundamental conflict.

The survival of the Earth against corporate greed.

So we are looking at ways that we can strategize to meet the threat, to meet our own needs. Survival Politics. Nothing less — nothing more. Not leftist politics, not rightist politics. Survival — how are our children going to survive the next ten years, the next twenty years? When they bring children into the world — how are they going to survive?

Survival politics.

Many such efforts, all over the Great Turtle Islands.

Thank you.



Photo Shelly A. McIntire



On The Road To Real Sovereignty

Self-sufficiency, food, energy, and Native Peoples

Editors' note: Recently two of our editors journeyed through several Native communities where food self-sufficiency projects are developing and growing. The following narrative details some of what they saw and the thoughts which it stimulated in them. Economic self-sufficiency (A People's Economy) is one of the five areas a People must control and develop in order to be sovereign. It is a fundamental aspect of the Movement to re-build the Nations, along with education, health, governance and spiritual culture. In virtually every region of North America, Native Peoples are re-vitalizing one or another of these processes. There are many survival schools now, there are Midwifery Projects, camps and gardens and, of course, the traditional governments and spiritual People continue on. We invite articles, letters and commentaries from people engaged in projects and processes such as the ones described in this article.



Photo by Michael Ach

It was cold in March, an unlikely time for a journey, but for us the only time we would have to travel before spring planting. Traveling is kept to a bare minimum from planting time until after the harvest is preserved. The best way to be in touch with nature's cycles is to live according to those cycles, to depend on Nature's cycles for the major portion of your food supply. Food is basic to survival.

Today we see that many people have completely lost touch with nature's cycles because they depend on grocery stores for their food supply. What would happen if the grocery stores closed their doors? Who would survive? For how long? Everyone knows oil for heat is becoming a luxury. People are keeping an ever watchful (and fearful) eye on the economy and can sense that economic disaster may lurk around the corner. Many of the old people shake their head. They have seen so much in their lifetime, and they tell us the world can not continue as it is now.

Haudenosaunee prophecies tell us that we should store seven years of food. Journals from the Denonville expedition (1687) and the Sullivan campaign (1779) through Iroquois country tell that the invaders spent days and days destroying stored corn, beans, squashes, pumpkins, fruits, and many other vegetables. Sullivan tells of destroying 40 towns, tens of thousands of bushels of corn, fruit orchards numbering up to 1500 trees. Denonville claimed he and his army destroyed 1,200,000 bushels of Indian corn. The storing of food supplies was a precaution, a protection, in the event of droughts, frosts, floods and other possible disasters. (See PARKER ON THE IROQUOIS for more information on Denonville and Sullivan.)

Today's world finds most people totally dependent on grocery stores, electricity, and oil or gas for heat. Akwesasne Notes People have been actively promoting self-sufficiency and alternative technologies for some time now.

Native Peoples have always had a strong, well-developed belief system, and have possessed the technology to live self-sufficiently. The Native Peoples' belief systems have always projected a balance and harmony with the natural environment and natural resources which supported economically self-reliant communities of Native Peoples. The forced movement of our peoples into the western world's social system and the subsequent dependence on the technology of that system has been destructive to our former way of life. However, these belief systems and the know-how of the Old Ones combined with appropriate technologies such as wind power and solar are today producing, once again, the possibility of economically self-reliant communities of Native Peoples.

At this point, it is relevant to explain that many Native Peoples' idea of self sufficiency and self-reliance may not be identical to the ideas of other peoples. The goals are for the survival of our peoples as peoples, as nations, as communities. Survival includes our food technology, language preservation,

ceremonial continuance — our survival as Nations. The use of appropriate technologies serves to enhance and bring to reality these goals. It is most often a community type of self-reliance based on individuals within that community working together — it is very, very far away from the sense of individualism that we see in the technological industrialized societies of today. We all want to live comfortably — everyone does — but by our definition living comfortably means producing our own organic vegetables, meat, grains, poultry, maple syrup, etc., and using wood, wind and sun to heat our homes.

Self-sufficiency means that when the energy crisis peaks or when the program moneys dry up we will not feel the impact as sharply as those people who live in cities or those people who are dependent on grocery stores, oil companies and electricity. The accumulation of individual possessions and wealth are NOT a focus when Native Peoples are working on building strong self-sufficient communities. This recent journey was an encouraging experience because we saw a few of the results of Native Peoples' projects in self-sufficiency and alternative technologies.

Our first stop was on the Oneida reserve in Canada. Dayohahogue and Katsitsiakwa, who spent several years with Akwesasne Notes, are homesteading on their reserve. They, along with several other people, formed the Oneida Agricultural Project. Their approach to self-sufficiency is a sensible one — one project at a time. Last summer they raised three pigs, planted gardens and canned their harvest. They built onto their small house and insulated the house to make it more energy efficient. In the fall they began with plans for a wind generator to provide a small amount of electricity to replace or augment kerosene lamps. They also began investigating a breed of small cattle, Highlanders, which originated in Scotland. Highlanders have a reputation as a tough breed with the ability to survive severe winters with little shelter and with minimal attention. They are said to have excellent foraging ability and good mothering abilities. Highlanders are a smaller, primarily beef breed, with long hair and huge horns. They look somewhat like a small buffalo.

During March of this year we were able to see both the windmill project and the Highlander project functioning. Dayohahogue and Katsitsiakwa use a large Amish cookstove to cook and for heating their house. The wind generator produces electricity which is stored in 12 volt batteries. After building his own tower for the wind generator, the house was wired and the charged batteries were connected to the house wiring to provide current for several lights. Three Highlanders were purchased late in the fall — a mother, calf and heifer.

Plans for the future include installing a shower and running water which will be powered by the wind generator. The results of this couple's self-sufficiency are organically produced vegetables, meat, and

well-insulated comfortable house heated with wood and electric from their wind generator, plans for the future and all this on less than 10 acres of land!

Our next stop was Oneida, Wisconsin. In a wooded section of land surrounded on three sides by large open fields we saw a beautifully constructed log building which people in the community built themselves. It serves as a gathering place for the Longhouse community.

Behind the log building is a structure known as the "cookhouse." It is approximately 60 feet long and 20 feet wide. It is shaped like the bark longhouses of long ago. The outside is a large tarp type of canvas material. Stepping inside, one's senses are stimulated to thoughts of long ago. The inside framework of the structure is made of small saplings tied together in an arc design

which is covered with the canvas. There are three large wood cookstoves, many tables and much room for people to gather. Out of each end of the structure are the stove pipes.

The people have been quite ingenious and hard-working to provide a cookhouse and log building to meet their needs for a gathering place. As you stand outside the buildings you can hear squirrels chattering, birds singing and you know that many native, indigenous, plants continue to grow in this wooded section of land. It's like long ago — but it is today — strong and alive.

A few miles down the road we came to Iroquois Farms which is a community-sponsored agricultural effort at self-sufficiency, raising organic food. The farm is about 80 acres including a house, barn and fields. We had the opportunity to meet with manager of Iroquois Farms, who gave us a tour of the project.

A solar greenhouse has been built onto the south side of the house. Two rows of fifty-gallon water drums serve to store the heat and a venting system allows the heated air into the house. Tight fitting shades are drawn once the sun goes down to keep the heated air in the greenhouse. Plants were being started for this season's crops. One of the larger projects is a community garden in which foods are grown organically, i.e. without chemical fertilizers or pesticides. There is a growing community awareness of the dangers of commercial fertilizers, herbicides and pesticides used in growing foods found in the grocery stores. The problems of food processing, which commercially involves use of chemical agents which color and preserve the food, is also a matter of concern. Iroquois Farm people are very much aware of and educating the community that the way to get rid of chemicalized foods is to grow, preserve and prepare your own food organically.

The People at Oneida are also preserving their own foods with a community canning operation which has been functioning for several years. People take the

food they have raised to the canning operation and utilize the large pressure canner to preserve their harvest. The white corn raised for corn soup since ancient times is also canned and ready for soup.

In the basement of the farmhouse at Iroquois Farms are shelves and shelves of foods canned by the people. Several young people are busy cleaning the trays for the beehives which produce honey. In the kitchen one can enjoy a cup of herb tea and honey as you learn more about Iroquois Farms.

The livestock operation is an integral part of the Farm project. At the present time the project is raising hogs. As you look in the neat row of pens you see all ages and sizes of hogs from piglets to hogs ready for market. The pens are clean, hogs well-cared for and well-fed. A person can feel confident purchasing pork from Iroquois Farms. There were several calves in the barn also.

Behind the barn was a hand-built structure to house the older, larger hogs used for breeding. It was a straw covered building, the framework of which had been welded together from old scraps of metal. It has a door on each end and the older hogs had successfully wintered in it.

The Oneida Agricultural Project and Iroquois Farms are successfully combining old methods of raising food with new methods and alternative technologies to produce food supplies, electricity and heat.

Another working project which we saw near Stevens Point, Wisconsin, is a solar collector. A small fan forced pre-heated air (72 degrees F) from inside the building through the solar collector. On a bright sunny day, the forced air was coming out of the solar collector at 110 degrees F. The 4' x 8' collector has a rating of 1400 BTU.

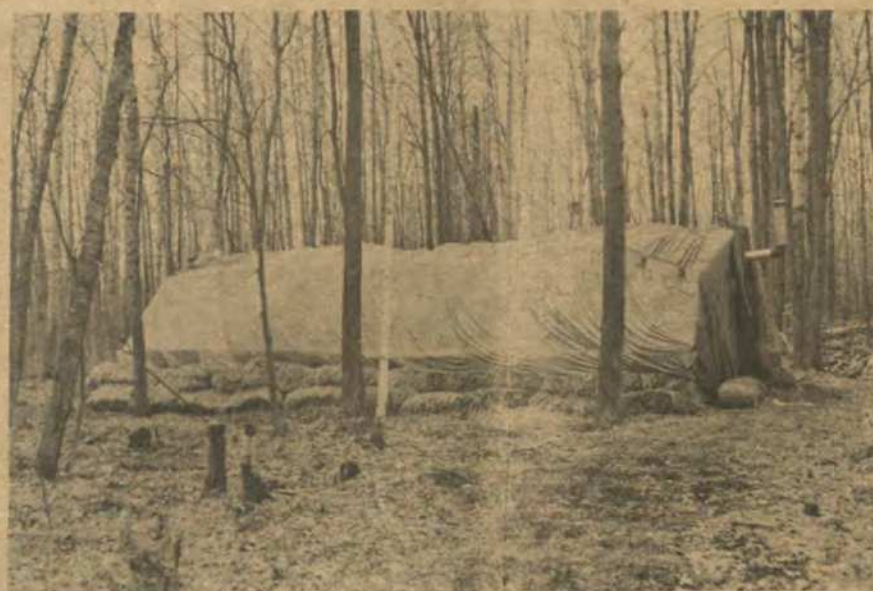
At the Stockbridge reservation (Wi.) we attended a weaving class where an older woman was teaching the younger women how to thread a complex loom to weave rugs. Another man is building a house into the side of a hill. His advice is to always use the materials at hand and to KEEP THINGS SMALL. Maple syrup was being made down the road by several families.

Everywhere we stopped we met with Native Peoples who were planning and preparing for spring planting. We took old time white corn and bean seeds along to give people and we received asparagus seeds from others. We made old time lye corn soup from corn and beans we had raised last year and found young people are interested in the old time ways of making corn soup using wood ashes, which adds trace minerals to the corn and beans to form a complete protein.

As we viewed these self-sufficiency and appropriate technology projects we began to envision community homesteads where integrated systems could one day produce food and energy self-sufficient homesteads and eventually self-sufficient communities. Add to this the spiritual communication and commitment among peoples of a good mind and you can see a solid, productive, spiritual way of life which is healthy for human beings, young and old.

For many of the Native Peoples we talked with, only one or two generations ago self-sufficiency was their way of life. That way of life has not been lost for very long and certainly can be regained. Many people here and in Europe have said it has only been since World War II that this state of dependency was created. A false sense of security was promoted which depended on an infinite supply of natural resources. Now that the careless, thoughtless, overuse of natural resources has nearly depleted the supply, people are once again looking to the land and considering a way of life that is harmonious with nature's cycles and comfortable for human beings who would commit themselves to the good business of living in harmony rather than dependency.

We were only able to visit a few places on our trip. What was most impressive was that everywhere we went we found people who were building, experimenting, working. The ideas that are being promoted are presently in the hands of younger Native people who are dedicated to the reconstruction of their societies. They are, in a sense, new ideas. Not



THAT NATIVE PEOPLE SHOULD TAKE CONTROL OF THEIR OWN DESTINIES, AND THAT TAKING CONTROL MEANS BASICALLY ENGAGING IN THE ACTIVITIES WHICH PROVIDE PEOPLE WITH THE NECESSITIES OF LIFE - THIS IS NEW.

Cookhouse at
Oneida, Wisconsin

Akwesasne Notes Photo
by J. Mohawk



NATIVE PEOPLE ARE AT THE BEGINNING STAGES OF PROJECTS WHICH COULD HOLD A PROMISE FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR OUR PEOPLE, AND FOR PEOPLE THROUGHOUT NORTH AMERICA.

Solar Greenhouse
at Iroquois Farms
Oneida, Wisconsin

Akwesasne Notes Photo
by C. Mohawk

new in the sense that independence and self-reliance are new - those ideas have been with mankind since time immemorial. What is new is that people are now beginning to take ideas which were alienated from them, ideas which were not taught to them in the school systems. They are learning about reality on a first hand basis, and are not participating in the prescribed ways of life provided by the empty and failure-oriented programs of the BIA or the social services programs.

That Native people should take control of their own destinies, and that taking control means basically engaging in the activities which provide people with the necessities of life - this is new. Especially to the generation of people who were born since the Great Depression. Progress in this direction is being made. It is slow progress, to be sure. But it is progress.

From our visits, we could see that a new kind of possibility is emerging. It is a possibility that our peoples may someday soon enact the consciousness that small-scale developments are appropriate to a people who seek economic independence. The trend in the mainstream society is toward LARGE SCALE. At the time of the homestead era, in many places in North America, a quarter section (160 acres) was thought large enough to be a homestead. Today, farms nearly ten times that size are in some areas going bankrupt because they are not considered large enough. The major reason that small farm operations go broke is that in order to purchase the equipment which is today considered necessary for a farming operation, they must mortgage their futures to banks. Sometimes the mortgages involve truly stupendous amounts of money. The mortgages reach astronomical dollar figures.

Agribusiness has taken over in North America. The farmer today plants the crop varieties which are dictated to him by the markets. He fertilizes those crops with fertilizers which he purchases from the multinational corporations, and he uses their pesticides, herbicides, oil, gasoline, and farm equipment. When he sells his crop, he uses the money to pay his creditors. In many ways, although he owns part of his farm, he

is little better than a wage worker for the huge corporate interests, including the banks who charge huge interest rates on his loans for the equipment, buildings, and materials.

The opposite of that process, if it needs to be pointed out, is a food production plan which is small and which does not depend on the multinational seed corporations for hybrid seeds. The opposite to agribusiness would use non-hybridized and non-specialized varieties of crops developed and adapted to the needs and region of the agriculturalist. The opposite to agribusiness would be food production for the purpose of raising food, not for the purpose of paying off the mortgage (not for cash crops). Small farming operations have the potential to put quality back into food production.

Native people are at the beginning stages of projects which could hold a promise for a better future for our people, and for people throughout North America. The technologies and the materials exist in the 1980s for integration of systems which could make self-sufficient lifestyles extremely attractive.

It is possible, with the advent of modern insulating materials, to build small, super-insulated buildings which, even in the north, using air-tight stoves, can be heated efficiently with surprisingly small amounts of wood. There are currently available on the market small generators designed to be operated by small windmills which can produce enough electricity to provide electric lighting and which can power water pumps. Connected to wood and/or sun powered water heaters, it is possible for the small, isolated homestead to enjoy running hot and cold water.

There exist plans for methane gas production from chicken or cow or any other kind of manure. Methane gas could be used to fuel gas refrigeration units. Grey water from kitchens can help to fertilize gardens. Mulches and compost materials are readily available in the homestead. Bio-intensive agricultural techniques are available which offer ways to produce huge amounts of vegetable produce on surprisingly small amounts of land. In fact, one man in California claims that, using a combination of technologies related to

French bio-intensive gardening, he will soon be able to produce \$8,000 worth of celery on one-tenth of an acre of land.

There is no question that, in areas where the environment permits, as little as five acres of cropland can produce all the meat and vegetable and grain requirements of a family of six, including surpluses of fruit and vegetable produce. When you consider that in New York State official estimates say that it costs about \$115 per week to feed a family of four from the grocery store (or a whopping \$5980 a year). And that's just for food. Add in the cost of rent, taxes, heat, electricity, and transportation costs, and you can see that having a food and energy self-sufficient operation offers the possibility of producing a lifestyle for your family which can only be purchased at the costs of thousand and thousands of dollars — dollars which are no longer available.

When you couple that kind of thinking with an understanding of the concept of quality of life, the prospect of homesteading in the 1980s becomes much more than simply a nice idealistic idea. With a few acres of land and a lot of know-how, it would be possible to produce good healthy food which is not laden with chemicals you can't pronounce and only a chemist can identify. And, it is becoming clearer and clearer as prices rise in the grocery store a homestead will also provide you with a cash income.

What a homestead will not do, however, is to provide you with a complete way of life. That is to say, a homestead, one homestead isolated from the world around you, will not provide you with all of life's necessities. There is no way, given a single homestead, that one family can produce all the things that they would like to have. And there is no way that one isolated homestead can provide for a family's social needs. Children need to be educated. The people need to preserve their languages and their customs. There needs to be a community of people, and a great diversity of life. That is one of the lessons that the Native people can teach the world about. Native people do things in a cooperative way. They do things together. And they usually have a community from which those kinds of things can be created.

The idea that self-sufficient communities might be beneficial and that they might be created with an agricultural base founded on small homesteads is beginning to take root in Native Communities. The process seems slow, but actually it is moving along fairly rapidly. The Technologies which would make that both possible and attractive take time to acquire, and to master. But Native people are on the move, and solar heating and solar greenhouses are springing up in those same communities where a consciousness of the need to maintain a National identity are also taking root.

The password to success in this area is SMALL. Small gardens. Small livestock operations. Small houses. Small cash income expectations. Small gardening equipment. The idea that small is better is itself a revolutionary thought in North America of the 1980s. It promises to be a profound kind of revolutionary thought, and one which can be coupled with a kind of action which will actually be productive and progressive.

When multinational corporations brought in the idea of miniature electronic components, it was hailed as the greatest progress in electronic communications and information storage and manipulation in human history. The same idea applied to human production and consumption could be just that. It could revolutionize economics and economic thought throughout the world. It is a thought and a plan which could become the password of the future, an in fact, it will become that, because large is simply no longer appropriate or practical. And large is beyond the reach of human beings. Small is within our grasp.

Small is not, however, simple. The idea of developing a home-based electrical generation system connected to a hot water heater which runs on wood to provide hot and cold running water suggests that someone must master the mechanics of electrical generation, wood heat and production and plumbing. Bio-intensive agriculture, to be successful, requires a great deal of skill in the management of soil, and that requires a knowledge of everything from pest control

to livestock management. Food processing is a technology all its own. Fruit trees and bushes require a specialized kind of midwife. Cooperation within a community which is dedicated to this kind of production requires a kind of social organization which has not been practiced for some time in most of our communities.

But the process is something which is taking root in the minds and hearts of some of our people. Hopefully it will grow, and remain small at the same time. Homesteading offers an alternative to federally-funded programs, to removal to the urban centers, and to the tobacco sales and the bingo and gambling halls which have been proposed for our communities. And it offers an answer, or at least one of the components of an answer, to the mushrooming health problems which are plaguing our peoples, health problems which are often related to diet and social disorientation. A community based on homesteading could revitalize our cultures, regenerate our languages, and reestablish in our young people the values of our way of life. It is a very exciting prospect.

We are very proud of what we have seen on our travels. We were able to visit only a few of our communities. We saw that people are trying to make progress, and are making progress, and that the future looks promising for those people who are working in this direction. We encourage people from all walks of life and from all areas to look into these technologies and these kinds of social developments. Self-development is the key to the future, and small scale is the key to self-development. We cannot close our eyes to the destruction of our lands and to the processes which seek to destroy our rights as nations, but we cannot wage a struggle against these forms of destruction without taking steps to reduce our own dependency on agribusiness and the multinational oil companies either. The future is ours if we can but envision a better world and take action to create that world. And some of us are taking action. It is an encouraging thing to see. ■

NATIVE SELF RELIANCE — Produced by Clair Reiniger. Distributed by Bullfrog Films, Oley, PA. 19547. (215) 779-8226. 20 minute slideshow or filmstrip. Sale Price for slideshow: \$200. Sale price for filmstrip: \$50. With cassette and script.

"Native Americans have a strong tradition of self-sufficiency and living in balance with their natural resources...From time immemorial earth, water, sun, have nourished the people, today it is as it was in the past." (from the script)

NATIVE SELF RELIANCE takes the viewer to self-sufficiency projects of the Mohawks in the northeast, to the Navajo and Pueblos in the southwest, the Lumni, Shinnecock and Chippewa-Cree. Appropriate technology projects are presented which include windmills, aquaculture, solar green houses, a solar heated and wind powered school, small-scale food production, maple syrup production and the lifestyles behind these projects.

Clair Reiniger has artistically captured the essence of Native American belief systems and shown that these philosophies are incorporated into a traditional lifestyle which is enhanced by the use of appropriate technologies.

"Technologies are considered appropriate if they are low cost, labor intensive, energy conserving, and use local and renewable resources."

NATIVE SELF RELIANCE is an excellent, inspiring production which should be shown in your communities, schools and meetings of the people. The teachers and students at the Akwesasne Freedom School feel that **NATIVE SELF RELIANCE** gives a view of Native Peoples which the world should experience.

Clair Reiniger is preparing a National Directory of Native American Appropriate Technology projects.

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RESISTANCE AT BIG MOUNTAIN

8000 Navajo To Be Forcibly Uprooted

HOW THE "LAND DISPUTE" CAME ABOUT.

In 1882 the Hopi reservation was established for the exclusive use of the Hopi "and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon." For centuries the Hopi have lived in villages on the mesa tops, farming the fields near the mesas and using the outlying areas for hunting, gathering of firewood and herbs, and ceremonial shrines. The Navajo traditionally have lived in widely scattered extended family groups, using large areas of land for grazing their sheep, cattle, and goats. Many Navajo were already living in the area that had been designated as the Hopi Reservation. More moved there as their population expanded and their traditional homeland in New Mexico was taken over by non-Indian settlers. The Navajo and Hopi have always shared the land peacefully, their way of relating to the land being very different from U.S. "property" and "ownership" concepts. For many years the federal government supported the Navajo in their use of the area within the Hopi Reservation boundaries with roads, schools, and other services.

In the 1940's, coal and oil companies discovered that there was vast mineral wealth beneath the Hopi Reservation. The BIA had issued a series of rulings establishing Grazing District 6, the 640,000 acres immediately surrounding the Hopi villages, as the only exclusively Hopi land within the 1882 Hopi Reservation. Both the Navajo and the Hopi owned the mineral rights in the area out side of District 6, known as the Joint Use Area. Leasing in that area required the approval of both the Hopi and the Navajo Tribal Councils. The Hopi Tribal Council began a long legal effort to claim exclusive ownership of land in the JUA, so that the minerals could be easily leased, thus creating the so-called Navajo-Hopi land dispute.

The Hopi Tribal Council's Mormon lawyer, John S. Boyden, has been working for the interests of the mineral companies and the BIA, and merely having the Hopi Tribal Council approve what the companies wanted. The Hopi Tribal Council, from the time of its origin, up to the present day, has been seen by traditional Hopi as a tool created and used by the white man to control the Hopi people and gain access to the resources on Hopi land. Ever since the white man began imposing his ways on the Hopi first by insisting on compulsory education of Hopi children in BIA boarding schools and later by creating the Hopi Tribal Council, traditional Hopi have resisted assimilation and sought to maintain their culture and way of life.

Traditional Hopi leaders have protested unceasingly to the U.S. government for many years, challenging the legitimacy of the Hopi Tribal Council and denying that John Boyden represented all Hopi. The traditional Hopi do not want the land leased for mineral development, they do not want to fight the Navajo in court, and they do not want the land partitioned or strip-mined.

In a 1970 letter to Richard Nixon (then President) they said: "The white man, through his insensitivity to the way of Nature, has desecrated the face of the Mother Earth. The white man's advanced technological capacity has occurred as a result of his lack of regard for the spiritual path and for the way of all living things. The white man's desire for material possessions and power has blinded him to the pain he has caused Mother Earth by his quest for what he calls natural resources. . . The path of the Great Spirit has become difficult to see by almost all people, even by many Indian who have chosen instead to follow the path of the white man."



THE NAVAJO-HOPI LAND SETTLEMENT ACT.

The Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act was passed by Congress in 1974 in response to extensive lobbying efforts by John Boyden. The Hopi Tribal Council's public relations firm, Evans and Associates of Salt Lake City, staged a range war on Hopi-Navajo borders while Borden was lobbying in Congress. Most Southwestern newspapers carried a Sunday feature showing photos of burned corrals and shot up stock tanks and wells, although such incidents were not widespread. By calling Evans and Associates, a TV crew could arrange a roundup of "trespassing" Navajo livestock.

By 1976 a federal judge had drawn boundary lines and construction started on the barbed wire fence. Congress limited funds for purchasing and compensating the people who live on the wrong side of the fence to \$31.5 million for their property and possessions. That is an average of \$20,000 to \$30,000 for each family to move and resettle. In addition, \$5.5 million was appropriated for bonus payments to "induce" people to move voluntarily.

Because of the "land dispute" an economic blockade has been in effect since 1962, causing great suffering already. The federal government ordered a freeze on all construction, repairs, and improvements on homes and property. Schools, roads, and health facilities have not been maintained since 1962. The ban on construction has forced the people to live in overcrowded homes. Some have been forced to leave their family homelands in the JUA to find homes elsewhere, breaking up the extended family. A "land restoration" program is being implemented, destroying hundreds of acres of sage and medicinal plants. Bulldozers drag heavy chains across the land "in preparation for reseeding." Sacred shrines, plants, and springs have been uprooted to clear the way for the fence.

The federal government has ordered a 90% reduction of the livestock population—the only means by which many Navajo families make their living. Typical is one family whose flock of 70 sheep and 40 goats has been reduced to six goats. For many Navajo, livestock is a way of life as well as a livelihood. They are dependent on their animals for food, trade, credit, religion, and ceremonies. The principle impacts of stock reduction, according to the Navajo, are economic hardship, starvation and inadequate diet, loss of traditional values, and loneliness and depression. "They tell us to get rid of our stock," said one Navajo bitterly, "and after that they will get rid of us." The Navajo are facing the starve or move option.

Forced relocation is scheduled to begin in 1981 and be completed by 1986. Because every acre of reservation land is already being used, they will be thrust out into the racist, hostile border towns—Flagstaff, Farmington, Gallup, and Grants—to live an alien lifestyle. What is threatened by this decision is the greatest mass relocation of Indians in North America this century.

A study by the federal Indian Health Service found that the Navajo facing relocation are having severe mental and emotional problems, and are using mental health facilities at a rate 8 times that of other Navajo. The Flagstaff-based Navajo-Hopi Relocation Commission, which has been studying 100 families who have already moved to Flagstaff, has found that one-fourth of the families are having serious difficulties, including 14 families who have lost their new homes because of financial problems.

Many people in the JUA come from very remote areas and have had very little contact with outside influences. When they are relocated to cities, they don't understand about rent and bills. Their family structure is broken down and they cannot live in their usual way of large extended families. They cannot maintain their religion and ceremonies in cities where there is concrete everywhere. They cannot pray to Mother Earth. They lose their way of life. Many of the older Navajo women have died in Flagstaff. The people say it is because they cannot live without the land.



BIG MOUNTAIN

Big mountain, the most prominent land feature in the JUA, is situated at the center of the four sacred mountains: Hesperus Peak and Blanca Peak in Colorado, Mt. Taylor in New Mexico, and the San Francisco Peaks in Arizona. It is sacred to both peoples and is a source of great energy and healing. Big Mountain is a female mountain. They call the mountain the Mother. The female mountain has all the herbs and plants and medicines used for the Navajo and Hopi healing ceremonies. On Big Mountain are many sacred shrines and springs, where prayers and offerings of turquoise, abalone, jet, and white shell are made to the Holy People to bless the land and the people. A rock shrine on Big Mountain is the traditional home of Be'gochidi, the "One Who Created People," and "whom the sun never leaves, who time and time again transforms into sunlight, into wind, who is found absolutely everywhere."

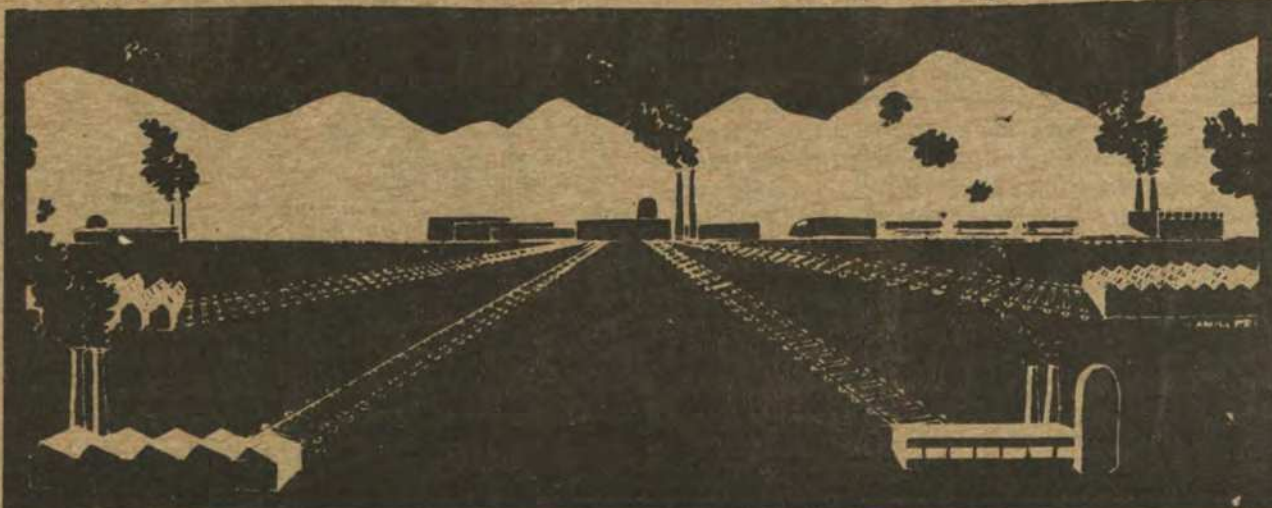
The Navajo who live at Big Mountain (which is 75 miles from the nearest town) are said to be the most traditional and culturally intact of their large tribe. They have spent their lives herding sheep in one of the most isolated areas of the Navajo Reservation. Many Big Mountain people don't speak or understand English, don't read or write English, don't understand the white man's laws, and don't understand the tribal council laws. The only law they understand is the natural laws. The prayers, the ceremonies, the songs—those are the laws that the people of Big Mountain live by.

Asxone woman put it, "We Believe the Holy People are still around this area, and that is why we don't want to give up the land." Another has said, "We don't want this coal to be taken out from our Mother the Earth. It is a part of her flesh." The people's ties to the land are so deep that leaving seems to the elders to be leaving life itself. They know what has happened to the Navajo communities of Shiprock, Red Rock, Crownpoint, Churchrock, and others, where the Navajo Tribal Council has leased land to energy companies despite warnings of the spiritual leaders.

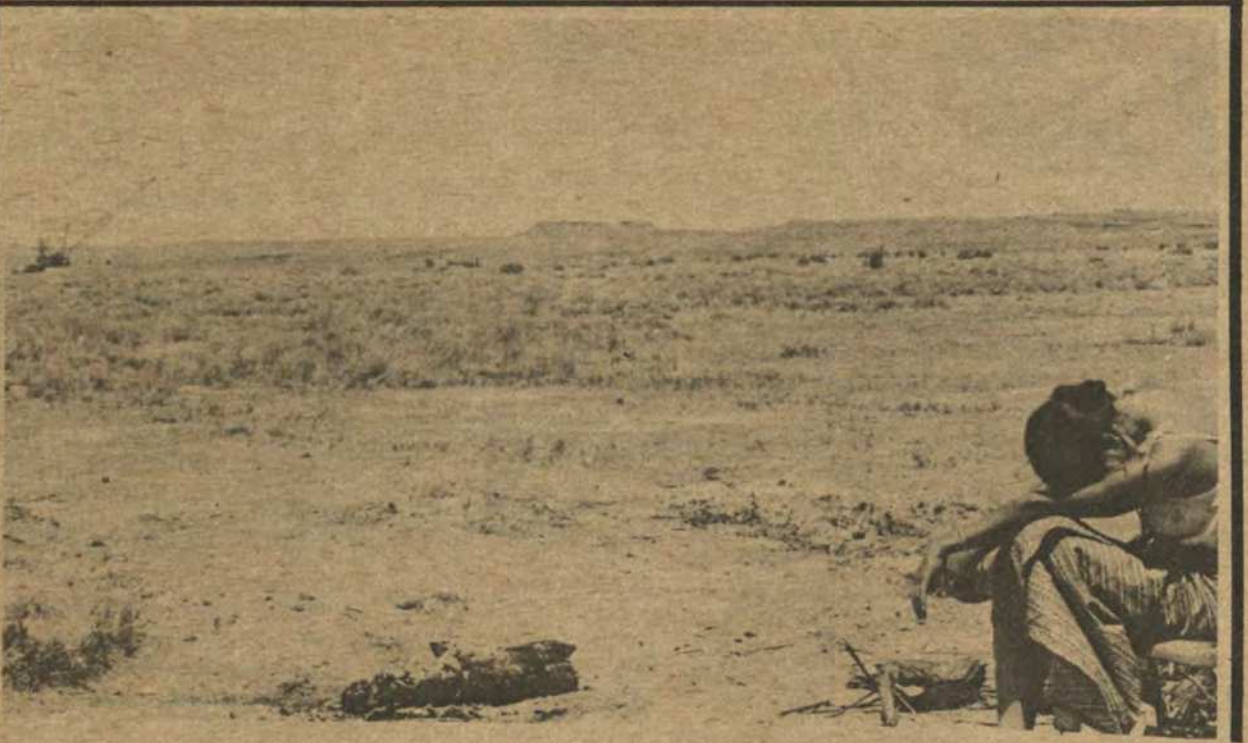


THE HOPI COUNCIL'S POSITION

The Hopi Tribal Council has been actively policing its newly gained area. A 95-year-old Navajo was jailed overnight and fined \$160 for watering livestock at a spring he has used for 60 years. Hopi Tribal Chairman Abbott Sekaqueptewa says the JUA land is needed for "economic development—the only guarantee of our future existence." Those few Hopi elite with large herds of cattle, such as Chairman Sekaqueptewa, whose family has one of the largest herds of all, want the JUA land for grazing. But, the Hopi Tribal Council also looked at the "development" of the Navajo Nation and decided that such "economic development" and royalty income from mineral leases was necessary for the Hopi as well.



"We believe the Holy People are still around this area, and that is why we don't want to give up this land."



*Burnham, on the Navajo Nation, May, 1980
Photo by Roger A. Finzel*

The Navajo Tribal Council has been aggressively pursuing oil, gas, coal, and uranium development for many years. Today there are 4 huge operating coal stripmines of between 11,000 and 64,000 acres each, 5 giant coal-fired power plants, 38 uranium mines, and 6 uranium mills within the reservation or nearby. Peter MacDonald, Navajo Tribal Chairman, chairman of the Council of Energy Resources Tribes, and probably the most influential Indian in white America today, was proud to announce in 1975 that "In one year, the Navajo Nation exports enough energy resources...to fuel the needs of the state of New Mexico for 32 years."

MacDonald failed to note that in spite of the energy development on Navajo land, 85% of Navajo households have no electricity and that the reservation looks like an energy war zone. The Navajo Nation has become an energy colony for the whole U.S. The development so far is just a bare beginning of extensive energy development plans for the Southwest.

Navajo Tribal Council members, Navajo government employees, the white tribal attorney, George Vlassis, and particularly Peter MacDonald, who travels in a Cadillac and a Lear jet, are profiting from the royalty payments received from mineral development on the reservation, even though the Navajo receive far less than market value for their resources. However, the majority of the Navajo people, (declared by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission to be the poorest ethnic group in the U.S.) must suffer the effects of coal and uranium mining to their land, air, water, and their health, even though they have welcomed the few jobs that energy development brings.

EFFECTS OF COAL STRIPMINING.

Coal stripmining destroys the major underground transportation networks (aquifers) for much of the high-quality groundwater. These pathways also filter the water. Furthermore, the compacted layers of rock and dirt which protect the purity of the aquifer layers are broken apart and exposed in stripmining, allowing the groundwater to be easily contaminated. Local residents can have their water severely depleted and/or contaminated.

The semi-arid, low-rainfall desert of the Four Corners Area is one of the most environmentally sensitive areas in the U.S., which is why the National Academy of Sciences has reported that "it is virtually impossible" to reclaim the land after stripmining, and has recommended that such areas be declared "National Sacrifice Areas." The intention is to sacrifice the land and the Indian people for profits for the companies and electric power for the cities.

Stripmined coal feeds the coal-fired power plants in and surrounding the Navajo Nation which spew out vast clouds of pollution that cover the once-crystalline skies and create health problems for the people. Visibility in the Southwest is half of what it was 15 years ago. Even with the latest pollution control equipment, the Four Corners Power Plant, the worst single industrial polluter in the world, emits 350 tons a day of sulfur compounds and 210 tons a day of nitrogen compounds. Frequency of respiratory and heart disease has been found to be directly proportional to sulfur dioxide levels in the air.

Sulfur emissions combine with water in the air to form acid rains. Long a problem in the East, researchers have recently discovered that acid rains are now destroying fish and plant life in the Rocky Mountains as well. The U.S. Department of HEW's "Committee on Health and Environmental Effects of Increased Coal Utilization" concluded that increasing atmospheric carbon dioxide from coal combustion "could induce climactic changes with the potential for generating global socio-political disruption within fifty years." Gemini astronauts orbiting the earth in 1966 saw only two man-made things: the Great Wall of China and the smoke plume from the Four Corners Power Plant.



BIG MOUNTAIN PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE CONTINUES.

The people of Big Mountain are determined to continue fighting to keep their land and not allow it to be destroyed by stripmining. On October 27, 1979, Katherine Smith, who had fired her rifle to stop the fencing crew, was acquitted of all charges against her in a court room filled with supporters. Many people believe that this was a government move to avoid creating more publicity. Said Katherine Smith, "They told me I had broken the laws of the white man and I told them I had my own laws. We, the Dine people (the Navajo people's name for themselves in their own language), have our sacred laws. They were given to us in the beginning and I don't recognize their laws and I told them that's why I wasn't afraid of them. That's why I would shoot at them again."

A day later, seventy Big Mountain residents issued a Declaration of Independence, declaring that the federal government no longer has any authority "to intrude or disrupt the sacred lands at Big Mountain." On November 5, they issued a "Public Notice" notifying federal authorities that any equipment remaining on their sovereign lands would be confiscated.

"When the time comes, if we don't have any other choice, we are going to use our fists," says 62-year-old Ruth Bennally, who has lived at Big Mountain all her life. "No matter how small I am, I'll fight all the way to the end." Pauline Whitesinger says that when the time comes to move her, "They may shoot me right here. I refuse to put my shoes on."

A federal fencing crew came again to Big Mountain in late September 1980, and was confronted by a group of Big Mountain people. Several elder women took the keys from two BIA trucks guarding the fencing crew, and then some younger women began to pull up a fence post. There was a scuffle between the women and the BIA police officers, which ended with four of the women maced and on the ground in handcuffs. Arrested were sisters Marlene, 16 Louise Benally, 19 Sally Tsosie, 34 and their mother, 62-year-old Alice Benally. They were charged with obstructing a police officer, assault and battery, destruction of federal property, and resisting arrest, and were released on their own recognizance. Their trial has been indefinitely postponed while the courts decide questions of jurisdiction.



"Someday it's going to get to the point where we're going to have to take the law into our own hands to prevent future destruction of our lives and our land. You're trying to force us to commit a crime just to protect our land."

In response to the confrontation, the Washington, D.C. headquarters of the BIA sent a representative to Big Mountain to meet with the people to hear their complaints, and also announced that construction of the fence will be suspended "indefinitely." No one knows whether "indefinitely" means a few weeks or a few months. The fencing is scheduled to be completed by July 1981.

The invasion and manipulation of the once-isolated community by outside forces has created stress in which already existing differences have been intensified to create divisions among the people. A recent amendment to PL 93-531 gives "life estates" to all Big Mountain people who are 55 or older. This means that the elders only, and those who live at Big Mountain only, of the entire JUA, will be allowed to stay at their homes for the rest of their lives. This is a divisive tactic which will also create bad feelings. Life estates will be of little use to the elders because they depend on their children and families for both material and emotional needs. "Life estates are the same as waiting in the hospital or prison to die," says Nancy Walters, one of Katherine Smith's daughters.

The Navajo people's resistance to relocation has become one of the most potentially explosive situations in the energy resource exploiters' assault on the Southwest. As one Navajo from Big Mountain wrote in a letter to President Carter, "Someday it's going to get to the point where we're going to have to take the law into our own hands to prevent future destruction of our lives and our land. You're trying to force us to commit a crime just to protect our land."



GOVERNMENT ENERGY POLICIES AND MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS.

The BIA has always been quick to write off any problems they have created in Hopi and Navajo country as merely Navajo-Hopi disputes. This approach has, over the years, diverted much attention from the BIA's meddling into the people's affairs to foster and maintain U.S. government programs. As part of the Department of Interior, the BIA has always been committed to mining Hopi and Navajo coal and uranium in the "national interest." With the blessing of the federal courts and Congress, the BIA has repeatedly subverted all legitimate Hopi and Navajo opposition to the blatant exploitation of their sacred lands and resources. The BIA was set up by the government to protect Indian lands, resources, and people. Instead, the U.S. government, through the BIA, has created perpetual turmoil and hardship for thousands of Navajo and Hopi.

Following the "energy crisis" of 1973, Richard Nixon announced "Project Independence," and David Rockefeller and Zbigniew Brzezinski formed the Trilateral Commission. The purpose of the Trilateral Commission—a "private" organization whose members are the most powerful corporation executives, bankers, corporate lawyers, labor leaders, academics, news media executives, government officials, and politicians in the U.S., Western Europe, and Japan—is to shape world policies to favor profits for the multi-national corporations and to design a strategy to maintain control over the energy sources they need to maintain their power.



The Trilateral Commission's first task is to free the Western World from dependence on the vast mineral resources of the Third World. The U.S. and the energy companies can no longer rely on Third World oil. Instead, they will rapidly increase U.S. coal and uranium production, which comes from Indian land in the Northern Great Plains, the Rocky Mountains, and the Southwest. Half of this country's uranium reserves and one-third of its Western coal reserves are on Indian land.

Indian people are now facing their most severe threat yet. Their land, their water, their cultures, and their rights are all threatened to be destroyed forever. The government and multi-national energy corporations are beginning the final genocidal assault on the remaining land base of America's Native people. President Carter has called the proposed solution to the energy crisis, "the moral equivalent of war." The energy wars of the 1980's are being fought in the sparsely-populated Indian homelands of the West for profits for the energy corporations. The profits will come from the final rip-off of Indian land, water, and resources, which were guaranteed to the Indian Nations forever by the treaties.

The health of the Navajo people has already been severely crippled by energy development on their lands. There are abandoned uranium tailing piles on the Navajo Nation besides the active ones associated with the present mills. The tailing piles will emit radiation for 100,000 years. Children play on the tailing piles and communities are located within 100 yards of some of them. Some radon vents from uranium mines are in the middle of Navajo communities. Also, the water has become severely contaminated with radiation and seriously depleted from the mining.

Health results of exposure to low-level radiation are already widespread: systemic disorders, old age diseases appearing in the young, lower resistance to disease, loss of hair, unhealing sores, and gum and skin problems. Serious outbreaks of radiation-induced cancer, leukemia, miscarriages, birth defects, and genetic defects that will affect future generations are being experienced at a rapidly increasing rate, but have yet to be documented for lack of money and federal interest.

The energy development plans are massive and rapidly accelerating. The government has projected that uranium mining and milling in the Southwest will increase up to seven-fold by the year 2000. With increasing public opposition to nuclear development, intensive coal development for coal-fired power plants and coal gasification is being pushed as the energy source for the next generation. The Southwest is expected to experience the largest coal growth, and therefore the greatest impact, of all U.S. coal regions.

Along with coal growth comes the accompanying railroads, coal slurry pipelines, high-voltage powerlines, highways, and boomtowns. It is believed that the companies want to make the Southwest the "home" of coal gasification also. The huge economic problems of the enormously capital-intensive coal gasification process were recently solved by the passage of the Synfuels Bill, whereby the government will supply all the financial support with public tax dollars. Today,

360,000 acres of Southwestern land are leased or under application for coal stripmine leases—all to become a vast wasteland. Time is very short. Water in the area could run out in 10-15 years. Large areas are now becoming uninhabitable.

A major restructuring of the social, economic, and cultural base of the West is beginning. The population of northwestern New Mexico is projected to double in 20 years. There will be boomtowns of transients that will bring social disintegration and severely strain existing services and resources such as roads and water. A new city of at least 20,000 outside invaders is planned on the Navajo Nation's eastern border. The invading people will have no respect or appreciation of Native American cultures, and the results will be disastrous.

Native Americans lived for centuries without depleting their resources. Energy development on Native lands is rapidly replacing their self-sufficient way of life based on an attitude of preserving and conserving the natural conditions of the land in order to assure continued life on earth. Modern industrial society's standard of living has taken to the limit the earth's ability to replenish herself and remain healthy. We are destroying everything that we depend on for life support, and all life will suffer as a consequence. Our Mother the Earth is being raped before our eyes wherever we turn. We who have been separated from the land have much to learn from Native people. Indian people are now dying from the resource exploitation of their land. Non-Indian people will be soon to follow.



"We do hereby declare total resistance to any effort or influence to be removed from our homes and ancestral lands....We further declare our right to live in peace and harmony with our Hopi neighbors and cooperations between us will remain unchanged."



8000 NAVAJO'S TO BE FORCIBLY UPROOTED

In the Navajo way, the women are responsible for the family land. The land is sacred to the Navajo and all Native American People. They recognize that the earth is a living being and the source of all that is needed for life. Today, the elder women are the leaders in the resistance of the people of Big Mountain, Arizona to forced relocation from their homeland. On September 5, 1979, Katherine Smith, a 60-year-old elder of Big Mountain was arrested for firing a rifle to stop members of a government crew from building a barbed-wire fence dividing the land and the people. The fence was to come within 14 feet of the east entrance of a ceremonial hogan on her land. Katherine Smith confronted the construction crew soon after a sacred spring was destroyed and demanded they stop any further construction.

The fence is being constructed as a result of Public Law 93-531, the "Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act" of 1974. The Act divides the 1.8 million acres formerly shared by the two peoples, called the "Joint Use Area" (JUA), an area larger than the size of Rhode Island and Delaware combined. As a result, 8,000 Navajo and 100 Hopi must leave the land where they have been living. What is widely publicized as a settlement of the "Navajo-Hopi land dispute" is actually a result of the National Energy Policy and future energy development plans for the Southwest.

The barbed wire fence is almost complete in other areas, but at Big Mountain the government crews have not been successful in building the fence. When the first government fencing crews came in 1977, they were confronted by Pauline Whitesinger. She drove the fencing crew off her land by hitting them with sticks and throwing dirt at them. She and Roberta Blackgoat later tore down portions of the fence.

According to Katherine Smith, "Since then, we have come to learn many things at Big Mountain. We learned that there is a lot of corruption in our tribal government and that the federal government is ripping us off. And then last year the federal government came in with their fencing crew again. We had told them before that we didn't want any fencing, and they were coming on our lands again. Something had to be done, so I went out. They were fencing right across the wash from my house. I walked all the way across and loaded my gun and shot at the fencing crew so they would stop. Sure enough they stopped and left."

"Then the policemen came—Indian policemen. They said they were going to arrest me. I noticed they were all Indians. I told them they could not arrest me because they are my sons and my blood. Only a white man could arrest me. I told them I wouldn't go with them, and then some white men came and took me away."

During the Fifth International Treaty Conference at Big Mountain in June 1979, Big Mountain elders issued a Public Notice saying "We do hereby declare total resistance to any effort or influence to be removed from our homes and ancestral lands....We further declare our right to live in peace and harmony with our Hopi neighbors and cooperations between us will remain unchanged."

Traditional Hopi also oppose the partition of the land. In a July 1979 meeting about the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Hopi traditional and religious leaders also discussed the problems at Big Mountain. They issued a statement of support to the Navajo people, and declared that "PL 93-531 must be repealed and that no fencing be accepted by the Traditional Leaders and must stop now.... The time has come for all Native people to come together and solve this problem created by the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) among themselves as Sovereign Nations."

Traditional Hopi leaders have formed a Navajo-Hopi Unity Committee. They feel that the so-called conflict is very recent and not of the Indians' own making. Both Navajo and Hopi agree that their ancestors lived in harmony and peace, attending each other's dances, trading, intermarrying, and sharing the land for more than 400 years.

The traditional leaders of the Hopi and Navajo people believe that the Hopi hold the central responsibility for protecting Mother Earth, and that the Navajo are the protectors and strength of the Hopi. Both peoples are matriarchal—the homes, livestock, and land passing from generation to generation through the women. The two peoples have different languages and histories, and similar, yet distinct ceremonies and dances. They share not only the arid land of the Four Corners Area of the Southwest, but now they also share a struggle against the massive extraction of coal and uranium from their lands.

The traditional Hopi and Navajo are realizing that the so-called land dispute is a disguise to remove both peoples from the JUA so that the BIA, the Hopi Tribal Council, and energy companies can mine the mineral resources at Black Mesa. Most of the JUA is located at Black Mesa. Black Mesa contains Arizona's only known coal reserves, an estimated 21 billion tons, all within 1700 feet of the surface. Peabody Coal Company has rights to 2 billion tons of it now, and has discussed expanding mining operations at Black Mesa. Many people think there is uranium as well beneath Black Mesa. "We hear about all this fighting between Navajo and Hopi," said one Navajo. "I never seen it. It is the white man who wants that." Violet Ashke of Big Mountain has said she does not believe that the Hopi were behind the relocation program. "The U.S. government and the companies interested in coal and uranium are using the Hopi Tribe to get rid of us from this land," she said.





Traditional Hopis support Traditional Navajos against Removal Policy.

Photo by Pamela Giger

BIG MOUNTAIN SUPPORT COMMITTEE
P.O. Box 7082
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87194

(505) 265-1500/09

WHAT CAN YOU DO

The people of Big Mountain and JUA have asked for nationwide and international support for their urgent struggle for survival. Inform your community and support by holding educational and fundraising events. Additional copies of this pamphlet and other materials (a slide show, posters, and T-shirts will be available in coming months) can be ordered from the address below. Form a study group to find out more about how energy development is affecting Native American people. Select a person in your community to search your sympathetic media contacts and send that name to us, so that we can provide them with current news releases.

We need to create a buffer zone around the local reservation people who are directly under aiege. We can confront and pressure the government policymakers and corporations in the cities where we are and they aren't. Let them know that destroying Indians is unpopular and unforgivable. Develop a telephone network in your community so that in the event of an emergency, there can be a massive and rapid response to the appropriate government agencies and corporations. Contact your Senators and Congresspeople (and send copies of your letters to the Arizona Senators listed below) to educate them about this issue and to demand the repeal of PL 93-531, the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act of 1974, and its amendment PL-305. The two sovereign peoples should not be subject to the political manipulations of the U.S. government and multi-national energy corporations.

Collect contributions for the resistance now taking place. Money for food is needed every winter because the people's food source, their sheep, has been taken away. They have voluntarily cut themselves off from food stamps and welfare through declaring their independence from the U.S. government and its tool, the Navajo Tribal Council. The unpaved roads (only 93 miles of the 730 miles of roads in the JUA are paved) become impassable four to six months of the year due to winter snows and spring run-off, and the distances are great. Money is needed for vehicles and gas, a communications system, and legal services.

We have the power to change things. We must not let them control our minds. We must not believe the propaganda that we are powerless. The Native people are optimistic. They refuse to become silent martyrs of the energy industry. Guided by the elder women, they have the will and courage which is an inspiration to all who work alongside them. They stand strong, fighting for their homelands. When they win, we all win.

50 cents each, quantity discounts available.

Sources and Resources

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Senator Dennis DeConcini
101 North 1st Avenue Suite 1684
Phoenix, Arizona 85003
(602) 258-5330

Senator Barry Goldwater
5429 Federal Building
230 N. 1st Avenue
Phoenix, Arizona 85025 (602) 261-4086



Update Big Mountain



FORCED RELOCATION OF 8,000 NAVAJOS BEGINS WITH LIVESTOCK REDUCTION

By Rex Weyler

On Monday April 20 the federal government began to implement a livestock reduction program mandated by Congress as a first step in the forced relocation of over 8,000 Navajos from their farmlands in northeastern Arizona. Through ordinances passed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Hopi and Navajo tribal councils, the federal government has divided the area, traditionally used in common by both tribes. Hopi and Navajo traditional elders and leaders have charged that the government is removing the people from the land to allow coal companies access to the 22 billion tons of coal that lie under the ground.

What the government and major U.S. media have described as the "Hopi-Navajo Land Dispute" might be more accurately described as a dispute between traditional self-sufficient Indian communities and federal energy strategy implemented through the BIA. On April 18 the Hopi Tribal Council officially took charge of the land on their side of a government-constructed fence dividing 1.8 million acre "Joint Use Area." Traditional Hopi elders David Monongye and Thomas Banyaca have publicly stated that the Hopi people have no dispute with the Navajo and that the Hopi tribal council, established by the BIA without their consent, does not represent the will of the true Hopi people.

Dr. John Wood, associate professor of Anthropology at Northern Arizona University told a recent gathering of the Society for Applied Anthropology that the livestock reductions would result in "widespread depression, hunger, and economic devastation. Let's hope," he added, "that the failure of Congress to understand the consequences of its actions is due to oversight or ignorance and not a purposeful re-enactment of Kit Carson's scorched-earth policy of the 1860's."

In 1863 Carson captured 8,500 Navajo burned their crops, killed their livestock and marched them to Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Then in 1882 Congress established the Hopi and Navajo reservations on land considered useless by the U.S. But in 1940 huge deposits of coal were discovered, and the people were once again confronted with relocation efforts. The tribal councils were established by the BIA as a means of negotiating land deals with the Indians, and in 1962 the "Joint Use Area" was established.

In 1972 Congress issued a freeze on all permanent construction in the area, and in 1974 they passed public law 93-531, dividing the JUA between Hopi tribal council and Navajo tribal council jurisdiction. When government fencing crews began the construction of a fence across the land to mark the division they were confronted by angry Hopi and Navajo residents of the area who opposed the disruption of their self-sufficient lives.

On September 22, 1980 demonstrators confronted the fencing crew with signs that read "Don't force me from my place of worship," and "This is not East Berlin." When Marlene and Louise Benally tried to pull up a fence post they were grabbed by police who were guarding the fence crew. When the two women were maced, their sister Sally and their mother, 62-year-old Alice Benally came to their rescue, and a fight ensued with the police. The four women were charged with assault on a federal officer, destruction of a federal property, and resisting arrest.

On January 10, 1981 the Benally women won a mistrial, but the fencing continued under federal police protection, and on April 18 the Hopi tribal council assumed jurisdiction over their half of the land. Eight thousand Navajo people are scheduled to be removed from what is now considered Hopi tribal council land. All "unauthorized cattle" is being confiscated, a move which will aid in forcing the resident families to give in to the relocation plan.

In a joint statement the Navajo and Hopi elders officially opposed the relocation: "The traditional Hopi and Dine (Navajo) realized that the so-called dispute is used as a disguise to remove both people from the JUA, and for non-Indians to develop the land and mineral resources at Black Mesa. Peabody Coal has the right to two billion of Black Mesa's 22 billion tons of coal. Both the Hopi and Dine agree that their ancestors lived in harmony, sharing land and prayers for more than 400 years. We declare our right to live in peace and harmony with our neighbors and cooperations between us will remain unchanged."



The E.T.S.I. Pipeline.....some questions



1. What is a coal slurry pipeline?

Coal slurry pipelines are intended to move large amounts of coal over long distances. The coal is crushed fine like sugar and mixed with water. The coal is then pumped to its destination where the water is removed.

2. Who is ETSI?

Energy Transportation Systems Inc. (ETSI) is a subsidiary of four large corporations that have formed a pipeline company. The corporations are: Bechtel, Atlantic Richfield (ARCO); Lehman Brothers, Kuhn Loeb and Kansas Nebraska Natural Gas. ETSI has applied for a permit to construct and operate a 1,828 mile coal slurry pipeline. It will move coal from Gillette, WY to Arkansas and then to Louisiana.

3. How much water will ETSI use?

The ETSI project claims it will require at least 20,000 acre feet of water per year from the Madison Formation, an underground water supply for the Northern Great Plains region.

-One acre foot of water is equal to one acre of land with one foot of water on it.

-20,000 acre feet is equal to 31 square miles of land to a depth of one foot.

-One acre foot would provide a family of five for one year. 20,000 acre feet would supply the same family for 20,000 years!

-The proposed ETSI pipeline would use approximately 7 billion 26 million gallons of water of which is twice the amount Rapid City used in 1980.

-20,000 acre feet of water per year could irrigate 12,000 acres of South Dakota crops, according to the Division of Water Rights in Pierre.

-The Black Hills Monthly reported that by pumping large amounts of water from beneath the prairie, the overlying springs, wells and streams would flow downward to fill the gap that would be left in the Madison Formation. The Black Hills are on an oasis, but mining of water by ETSI could turn it into a desert.

4. How much would ETSI have to pay for the water?

The Wyoming State Engineer's office has said that the charge to ETSI for 20,000 acre feet of water per year will be a filing fee of 10 or 25 dollars, depending on the type of application. If an individual were to purchase the same amount of water at current commercial rates for his/her business, it would cost about 12 million dollars.

5. Is there another way?

The Burlington Northern Railroad has moved coal from Wyoming mines for many years. The Bureau of Land Management's Draft Environmental Impact Statement on the coal slurry pipeline says that the railroad would only cause minimal environmental affects.

For more information contact: Citizens for Responsible Use of Madison Water (CRUM), Box 32, Deadwood, South Dakota 57732 or Black Hills Alliance, Box 2508, Rapid City, South Dakota.





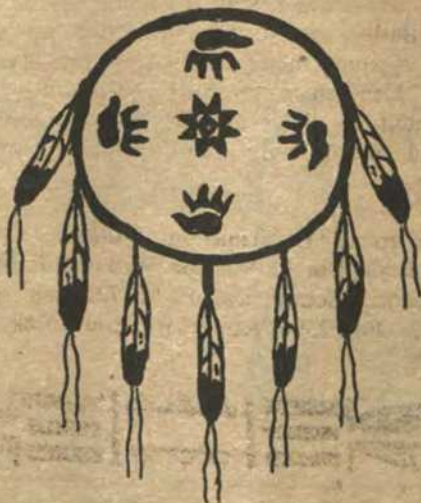
“Our Land is Not For Sale” Lakota Indians Reclaim Black Hills

By Rex Weyler

On Saturday morning, April 4, 1981, a caravan of twenty cars left the small town of Porcupine at the heart of the Pine Ridge Indian reservation in South Dakota. The cars carried several sets of tipi poles, mountain survival gear, food, materials for a traditional sweat lodge, pipes, and other sacred objects. The occupants of the cars, Lakota (Sioux) traditional elders, members of the Dakota American Indian Movement, reservation families, and several non-Indian supporters, planned to establish the “first of many” self-sufficient communities in the Black Hills, traditional sacred land of the Lakota people.

The caravan headed north out of the reservation to state highway 44, then turned northwest toward Rapid City. With red flags waving, the cars passed through Rapid City, turning southwest toward the Black Hills. Twelve miles southwest of the city the caravan left the main road, continuing for four miles along a seldom used forest service road to Victoria Creek Canyon. A rock bluff shielded the location from the north and west the surface of a spring-fed pond was broken by the ripples of feeding trout.

As the Indians and supporters emerged from the cars to gaze at the pine-covered hills, a huge cloud blew over the stone cliffs, dusting the area with a light five-minute snow. “A good sign, a purification,” someone said. Within an hour the first tipi was standing, children were running through the hills, and a meal was being prepared at the central campfire.



They say possession is nine-tenths of the law,” said Bill Means, a spokesman for the community, “Well, this land belongs to the Lakota people. We are not going to rely on the courts of the U.S. to return this land to us. For years the courts have legitimized the theft of Indian land. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that this land was in fact stolen from the Indian people, and they offered us \$122 million in compensation. But we don’t want the money, we want the land back. The Black Hills are not for sale.”

The Indians declared that they were going to establish a “culturally and spiritually based school,” and several more communities in the hills. They claimed the land for the “sovereign Lakota Nation” under the 1868 Treaty with the U.S. which reserved the Black Hills for the Indians’ “undisturbed use,” and 1897 U.S. law permitting the establishment of schools and churches in wilderness areas, and the 1978 Indian Freedom of Religion Act.

Hearing of the occupation, James Mathers, director of the Black Hills National Forest told the media that “we have the legal muscle and the law enforcement muscle to evict them very quickly.” On Monday morning, April 6, Mathers met with local sheriff Mel Larson, representatives of the FBI, and assistant U.S. Attorney Jeff Viken to plan an official response. By the time of that meeting, however, the FBI had already responded by sending out a contingent of agents to prowl the hills around the community site, dressed in camouflage fatigues and armed with automatic weapons.

On Sunday, the second day of the occupation, FBI agent Rob Miller drove up to the security checkpoint at the gateway of the camp. His automatic rifle and fatigues lay in the seat beside him. He told Bill Means “I’m one-eighth Indian, I just came here to see what was going on.” Means answered that since there were children in the camp, no weapons were allowed and so Miller could not come in. He handed Miller a press release, telling him that “everything we have to say is in here.”

Although the agent was sent away, he was spotted later on the ridge above the camp with his weapon and a pair of field glasses. Upon hearing two approaching Indians who went to check up on him, he slipped off into the woods.

On Monday afternoon, following the meeting with Mathers, several FBI agents again came out to the camp. During the afternoon a camp security patrol came across two camouflaged agents hiding on a ledge above the camp. The agents carried Mini-14 semi-automatic rifles and 120-round cartridges. When asked by the young Indian men what they were doing, the agents replied that they were “turkey hunting.” They were told that no guns were allowed in or around the camp because of the children, and they were asked to leave. But daily the agents came, creeping through the woods in their freshly issued fatigues. Camp security kept a 24-hour watch, and twice during the first week discovered agents slipping to the perimeter of the camp.

The first spiritual ceremony was held at the first sunrise, on Sunday, April 5. The traditional sweat lodge ceremony included prayers for the safety of the camp, prayers for the well-being of “all the relatives” (including the “wingeds,” and the “four-leggeds”), and thanks to the Creator for the clean water, air, and for the “Paha Sapa,” the sacred Black Hills.

As Lakota elder Matthew King later explained, “You see, these hills are our church. The rivers and the wind, and the blossoms and the living things — that is our Bible. Nature is God, God is Nature. Our whole life, our government, our religion, comes from watching these things. That teaches the Indian the difference between right and wrong, so we don’t need so many laws as the white people.”

“The U.S. government wanted our land,” said King, “but they didn’t understand that this is our church. Our grandfathers didn’t sell our church, so the government sent in the army to steal it in 1877. But now we want it back, and we’re going to get it back.”



On June 30, 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the land had been illegally taken from the Lakota people, and awarded them \$122.5 million dollars. \$17.5 million for the land at 1877 prices, and \$105 million for interest over 103 years at 5 percent. The Lakota Indians refused the money, filing a suit for return of the land plus \$3 billion in trespass damages and \$10 billion to cover mineral resources removed from the Black Hills.

Matthew King laughed about the offer of money: “Oh, the white man, he thinks he can buy everything! I asked the congressmen where they were going to get all that money to pay us for the land they stole. They said they’d get it from the U.S. treasury. I said, ‘That’s not even your money. That money came from resources you stole from Indian land. That’s our money. They want to buy our hills with our own money. He, he,’ he laughed, “they’re crazy!”



"You belong here, this is your land. And you are safe here. This is sacred land, you are protected here."

On Saturday, April 11, over two-hundred Indians from reservations in North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Colorado gathered at the camp to hold a treaty council meeting and to discuss the return of the Indian land. Oglala-Lakota chief Frank Fools Crow welcomed the people and led a pipe ceremony. He had earlier told the camp residents "you belong here, this is your land. And you are safe here. This is sacred land, you are protected here."

James Holy Eagle, a grandson of Sitting Bull, told the gathering: "I will fight for my land, and I'm not talking about with a gun, but with my voice. We must all speak up. The 1868 treaty was a nation-to-nation deal, the U.S. cannot change the deal. We won't go to the white man's court anymore, we will go to the world court. Our land is not for sale."

Bill Means answered earlier criticism for Lakota tribal lawyer Mario Gonzalez, who claimed that the Tribal Council did not support the occupation. "It is not our policy to criticize other Indian people," said Means,

"but the BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs] tribal governments were set up by the U.S. government. The courts are set up by the U.S. government, and they protect the interests of the U.S. Our people are represented by our elders and chiefs. The courts and the tribal governments have conspired to control Indian land, but they must realize that they need more than papers they need the support of the people and the chiefs who are sitting here."

Melvin Garreau, a former Cheyenne River Sioux tribal chairman, supported Means's view: "I resigned from the tribal government because I saw which direction it was headed. The BIA governments are puppet governments of the United States."

Pearl Yellow Feather from Fort Peck, Montana, moved to the gathering when she said that she had come to the camp in the Black Hills because "all my people have forgotten the true way. They have lost their spiritual traditions." She wept as she recalled how few "real Indians" were left, and she urged the people at the camp to "be strong."

Following the open forum, young AIM members brought a drum to the middle of the circle and led the crowd of over two hundred people in song. They sang "The AIM song" dedicated to Raymond Yellow Thunder, and Indian killed by two whites in Gordon, Nebraska, in 1972. They announced that the camp had been named in his memory: it would henceforth be known as Camp Yellow Thunder.

Rancher Marvin Kammerer, a supporter of the camp had donated a sheep for the meeting. A large pot of mutton soup was prepared and served with fry-bread to the entire gathering.

As evening fell over the camp, security patrols took up their positions on the ridge and on the road. Campfires burned inside the tipis as dogs and children fell off to sleep. The camp cook, Earl, kept a pot of coffee going on the campfire for the late-night security watches. "I'm just glad to be back home," he said, "to be home and to be free. We're free here." That's why we're here."



"WE'LL GET IT BACK" - A TALK WITH TWO LAKOTA CHIEFS

By Rex Weyler

On April 9, five days after the Lakotas set up camp in Victoria Creek Canyon, I spoke with Lakota chiefs Matthew King and Frank Fools Crow at Fools Crow's home. King served as interpreter translating Fools Crow's comments from Lakota.

KING: My grandfather did not talk very often, he said few words to me. But one time, while we sat under our horses in the shade, he said, "The white man tells lies. I don't know what kind of human he is, but he lies. Don't ever trust him."

FOOLS CROW: The word spoken is sacred; we believe that. In the Lakota community if you tell only one lie, you are cast out, condemned. We kept our agreements with the white man, every one.

KING: When the first white people came, we gave them everything, we were generous. But these people had some confusion; they tried to take everything, like kids with toys, grabbing and fighting over everything that God gave us to be happy with. Indians always used to laugh and say the white man was wetko - crazy. The Europeans came to this Indian country and they went crazy because it was so beautiful.

FOOLS CROW: The [U.S.] government makes too many laws - it's always making laws, so many laws, every day new laws. Then they break every one. They use the law to cheat people, but that is not the Indian way. We have one law, God's law; to live on this earth with respect for all living things, and to be happy with what God has given to us.

A Talk with Two LAKOTA CHIEFS

KING: Respect is very important - that word "respect", what we mean by that. Respect is our law - respect for all living things. That means that we cannot harm the earth or the water because we have respect for the place of those things in the world. We could not kill all the buffalo because that shows no respect for why the buffalo are here. We have respect even for the unborn, for their rights. That is our religion and our law.

If people want to live the right way, they have to follow God. Prayer is the only thing that is important to us. Even "chief" and all that - that is still materialism. Only prayer matters - from the heart, body, mind, and soul. If you have that, that is all you need. Even Jesus said that, but the Indian has practiced that for millions of years. Heart, body, mind, and soul all together with the world; that is the Indian way to live.

Ninety percent of life for us is teaching our children to live right, to know the difference between right and wrong that is the most important thing for the Indian family.

The white people and the Indians - I'm sorry to say this - I don't think will ever be together. They say they can't give us our land back because it was so long ago that they took it, and now so many white people live there. Well, the Indian doesn't believe that. One hundred years is not so long for us. The Black Hills is our church. They stole our church! It doesn't matter how many generations, that will always be our land. We are willing to sacrifice our lives.

FOOLS CROW: Spiritual law is the foundation; that is the one thing that can never change.

These BIA governments and tribal councils and all that, that is white man's government; they will have to go. The young people and the AIM (American Indian Movement), they are from us, they come from us, they represent us. The village in the Black Hills that is us, that is where our people can be free again. We'll get it back.



How You Can Help



Camp Yellow Thunder is growing and plans are for a permanent community. They are receiving support from local religious leaders who held a Day of Religious Fellowship in the camp on April 24, Nick Meinhardt of the American Friends Service Committee invited "families and interested members of churches and synagogues to share a meal with us, pray together and talk extensively with those whose land this has always been.

AIM is quick to point out that the reoccupation of the Black Hills by Lakota People is not meant as a threat to any of the present inhabitants. The Black Hills are the spiritual center of Lakota Religion, and sacred to the Lakota people.

In recent years, several multi-national corporations have wanted to unleash a mammoth, industrial development plan there. Uranium deep shaft mining, uranium milling, strip-mining and gasification plants, coal boom-towns are some of the results expected. The effects of this development are estimated will be particularly devastating to the water tables, which will be not only contaminated but actually exhausted within a thirty year period.

Corporate executives have labeled Rapid City, South Dakota, the future "Pittsburgh of the West." More frighteningly, energy planners call the region "National Sacrifice Area" to the Energy Independence plan.

Many local people, Indian and non-Indian, have perceived the threat that this "development" plan entails for their mostly rural communities and a considerable amount of unified resistance has emerged.

Appropriate technology projects, survival gatherings and the revitalization of conscious communities have been part of that resistance. Central to these ideas has been the Lakota Nation's claim to the Black Hills region as guaranteed to them in the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie.

The first Camp Yellow Thunder may be only one of many Lakota camps in the Black Hills during this and other upcoming summers. It is a non-violent resettlement of ancestral land — a righteous move.

Your support is needed to help in obtaining communications equipment, (walki-talkies), food, tools, alternative technology, legal assistance, etc. Letters of support should also urge U.S. government people to honor the April 6, 1981 claim filed with the U.S. Forest Service. They should be addressed to:

William French Smith
Attorney General, Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

Forest Service, Department of Agriculture
Post Office Box 2417
Washington, D.C. 20013

Honorable Don Edwards, Congressman
Sub-Committee on Civil & Constitutional Rights
A-407, House Office Building
Annex 1, Washington, D.C. 20515

John Block, Secretary
Department of Interior
14th and Independence Ave., S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20250

For more information contact

Dakota American Indian Movement
Information Department
Box 175
Porcupine, South Dakota 57772
(605) 342-6382

Yellow Thunder Camp
P.O. Box 9188
Rapid City, S.D. 57701

Money vs. Sovereignty

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MAINE SETTLEMENT

By A. Tallchief

Reprinted with permission of American Indian Journal, Vol. 6, May 1980, published by Institute for Development of Indian Law, Washington, D.C.

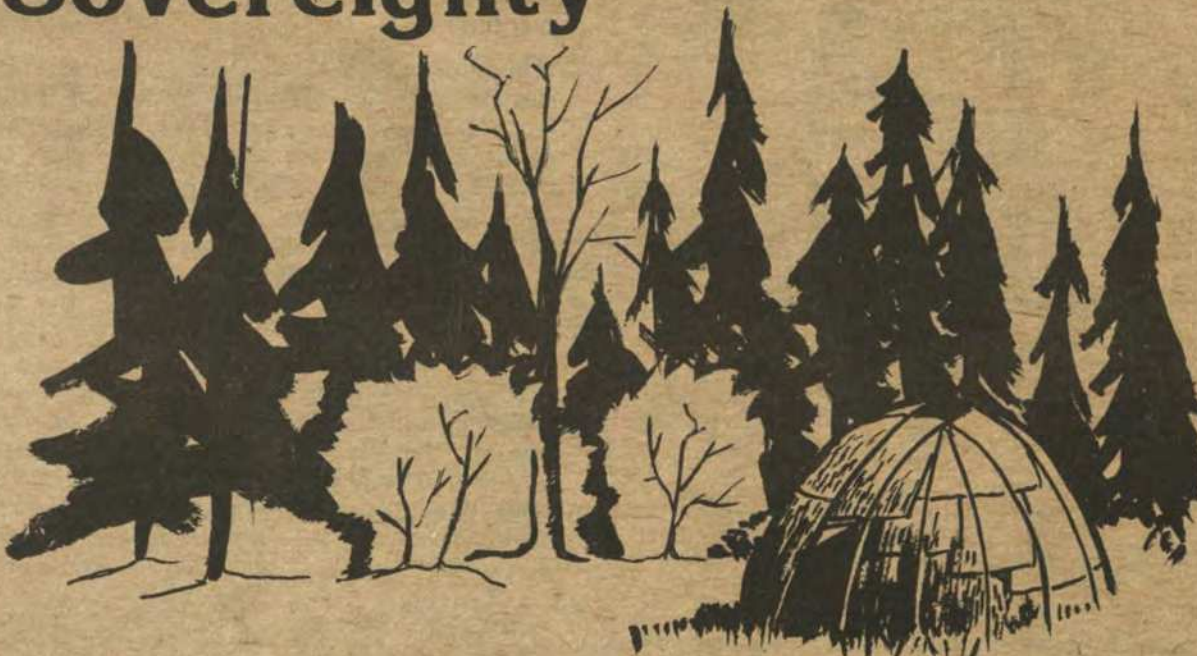
The so-called Maine Land Claims *could* have been a milestone in federal Indian relations. Instead, it may leave us with only a bad precedent.

What follows is an anylisis of the proposed Maine Settlement and a look at a viable alternative to that agreement. The alternative proposal begins with the premise that Indian tribes can survive only as nations, not as state municipalities or U.S. landowners.

Not surprisingly, the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot claim exists because non-Indians took their lands illegally. Probably due to an oversight, the U.S. Congress never bothered to change the rules of the game in order to "legalize" these illegal takings.

In 1790, the United States enacted the first Trade and Intercourse Act, designed to "protect" Indian nations. Among other things, the Act said that nobody could buy or take lands from the Indians without official U.S. approval.

This did not, of course, stop various states of the Union, like New York and Massachusetts, from taking Indian lands. Massachusetts, which included Maine at that time, stole lands from the Passamaquoddy, Penobscot and other nations without federal sanctions. These transactions were illegal and, under U.S. law, the land should revert back to the Indian Nations.



Consequently, when the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy presented their 12.5 million acre land claim eight years ago, they wielded a powerful weapon. A valid land claim gave these Indians a great deal of clout in this "historic" out-of-court settlement.

(This article does not discuss the wisdom of "negotiating" versus "litigating" land claims and will assume that the best option in this case was to seek an out-of-court settlement. The issue discussed here is what kind of settlement could have been negotiated.) *The Maine Settlement, which the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Nations have apparently accepted, proposes the United States allocate about \$80 million to be held in trust for the tribes. In return, the Indians are relinquishing their claim to the land. Whether the tribes were adequately informed of all the settlement terms before they consented to the agreement is debatable.*

If the tribes had approached the bargaining table with a different ideology, they could have come away with more than the \$80 million they accepted. The tribes could have used their power to force both the state of Maine and the United States to recognize complete tribal sovereignty over tribal land and people.

With the threat of a huge land claim, the Indian Nations might have forced the signing of an official treaty between the United States and the Indian nations. The treaty could have changed the relationship between the Indian nations and the federal and state governments, with a recognition of full Indian sovereignty. The tribes should have settled for nothing less. Then the agreement would have been considered a landmark and would have provided a precedent for other Indian Nations in their fight to preserve their sovereignty.

WHAT IS MEANT BY SOVEREIGNTY

Indian nations have sovereignty, whether the United States recognizes it or not. Still, U.S. recognition and respect of Indian sovereignty is important to the tribes' survival.

Although U.S. courts have in the past recognized the sovereignty of Indian nations, they also have allowed state and federal governments to exercise a certain amount of jurisdiction over both Indians and Indian lands. They have claimed that tribes are only quasi-sovereign, that they are domestic, dependent nations and that Indian land does not belong to Indians, but really is held in trust by the United States for the benefit of the tribes.

The tribes in Maine might have used their settlement to clarify and strengthen the meaning of Indian sovereignty. They should have settled by insisting on a treaty with the United States. The treaty would have recognized and returned a land base sufficient for the tribes' survival as Indian nations: a land base where the tribes would have exclusive jurisdiction over everything. The treaty also would have proclaimed the full sovereignty of Indian nations over their people and territory.

Of course, such a recognition of Indian sovereignty would have been costly in terms of money and lands. The tribes would have had to sacrifice the \$80 million and most of their land claims. In fact, they might have been left with only one or two percent of their original 12.5 million acre claim. But this seems like a small price to pay for the recognition of their sovereignty.

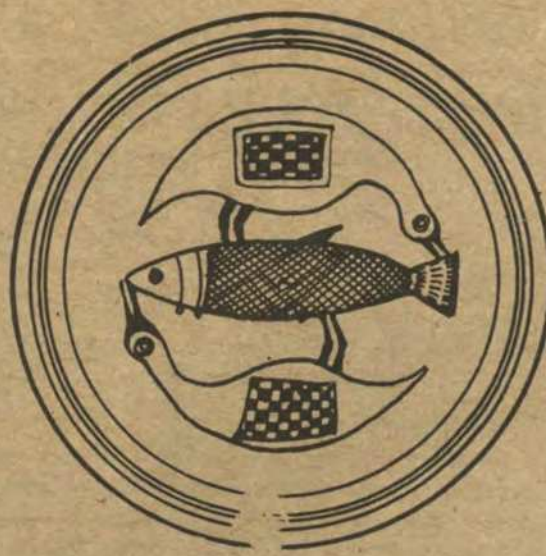


THE PRESENT SETTLEMENT

Instead, the present proposed settlement, approved by the tribes, might be easily compared to an agreement approved by the stockholders of any major corporation, should such a corporation have had a similar land claim. Following are the major defects of the settlement.

*The tribes will have less sovereignty than other Indian tribes located in the United States. The tribes in Maine will become virtually "creatures" of the state.

Although the settlement provides \$54.5 million to the Secretary of the Interior to buy land for the tribes, the conditions are vague. The time-frame for this transaction is undetermined, and no lands have yet been designated for such a purchase. In view of past U.S. behavior toward Indian nations, one has to wonder how the federal government can be trusted to actually buy lands for the Indians.



Instead of forcing the United States to sign a treaty, the tribes have allowed legislation to be introduced in Congress and the Maine legislature in order to settle the claims. Congress has the power to modify the original agreement, as well as to extinguish the land claims if it wishes. With that in mind, this is indeed a risky venture. Congress could easily enact legislation striking the land claims and giving a few dollars to the tribes in compensation. This has been done in the past.

Having listed the general problems of the settlement, following is a detailed look at some of the settlement's more controversial clauses.

1. The Secretary of the Interior is to hold in trust \$27 million for both tribes. The Secretary has the ultimate decision on how the funds should be administered. In view of past breaches of trust perpetrated by the United States, one has to wonder about the wisdom of accepting this provision.

2. The Secretary will also hold \$54.5 million in trust for the purpose of buying lands for the tribes. The tribes must consent to any land acquisition but the Secretary wields the ultimate administrative control over these funds.

The settlement does not actually give the tribes any land. It only gives money to the Secretary so that he can buy some unspecified acres, sometime in the future. The location of the lands and what kind of lands they will remain a mystery.

Who can really believe that the United States will keep its promise to buy these lands? Certainly not anybody familiar with the history and workings of the U.S. government.

3. When and if a reservation of Indian territory is established, the lands can be "taken for public uses consistent with the Maine Implementing Act or the laws of the United States." Although there are provisions for buying more lands should such a taking occur, this clause allows an incredible intrusion of state authority within the territorial confines of an Indian nation.

4. Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the settlement is that the federal legislation incorporates by reference the so-called Maine Implementing Act. This Act, recently passed by the Maine legislature, is a 40-page document which defines the political relationship between the state of Maine and the tribes. The Maine Act gives the state the authority to create an Indian territory. Therefore, the tribes become creatures of the state of Maine and, as we shall see later, are largely subject to state jurisdiction.

5. Land acquired by the Secretary for the Indians shall be managed and administered in accordance with terms proposed by the tribes and agreed to by the Secretary. Until such an agreement is reached, the Secretary fixes the terms for managing the lands. Why should the Secretary bother to agree? And until he does, the tribes will be subject to what has been known for years as federal bureaucratic imperialism.

6. The tribes, their members and territories will be subject to the full civil and criminal jurisdiction of the state of Maine with these exceptions.

a) The tribes have exclusive jurisdiction over criminal offenses involving tribal members and occurring within tribal territories only when the potential punishment for such offenses does not exceed six months in jail and/or a \$500 fine. However, the definition of the criminal offenses and the applicable punishment will be governed by the laws of the state.

b) The tribes, if they choose to, will also have civil jurisdiction over domestic relations affecting only tribal members. These include marriage, divorce and child custody. The tribe also will have exclusive civil jurisdiction over small claims between tribal members.

c) The state will not pass laws regulating tribal membership, tribal election, residency within the Indian territories, or the functions and organization of tribal government.

d) Although the tribes have exclusive jurisdiction over hunting and fishing activities in some parts of the proposed territories, the state has exclusive jurisdiction over violations of tribal hunting and fishing ordinances by non-tribal members. In addition, tribal hunting and fishing ordinances can be declared invalid by the state under certain circumstances.

e) The tribes are immune from suit only when acting in their governmental capacity. In other words, tribes will have no real sovereign immunity.

f) All Indian lands and personal property not used for "government purposes" will, in effect, be subject to state taxation. Other immunities from state taxation, commonly enjoyed by reservation Indians within the United States, will not be applicable to the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy tribal members.

g) Although the territories will be considered federal Indian reservations for purposes of federal taxation and although the tribes and their members will be receiving financial benefits similar to those provided to other Indian tribes by the federal government, the general laws of the United States that protect Indians, Indian tribes or Indian lands do not apply to the tribes affected by this settlement.

The brief summary above is only an overview of the major provisions of this complex settlement. This article has not attempted to discuss what chances the settlement has of being accepted by the U.S. Congress without amendment or whether the alternative settlement, described above, would have been agreed to by state and federal negotiators. What is stressed (and disturbing) here is that the concept behind the alternative settlement was never even considered by the negotiators.

It is clear that the proposed settlement, which has passed the Maine legislature and is pending in the U.S. Congress, contains many deficiencies. The priorities of those who drafted the settlement are obvious: money first, land second, sovereignty last.

The order should have been reversed. In the beginning of any negotiations, the priorities should always be sovereignty first, and money last.

If tribes do not start thinking in terms of long-term survival as Indian nations, they will eventually look like any U.S. corporation; the tribal members will be no more than stockholders. The 1971 Alaskan Native Settlement Act's goal is to transform Indian nations into state corporations. This Act is a recent reminder that a veiled form of termination is still the policy of the United States government. Hopefully, it will never be the goal of the Indian nations. (Ed's italics).



SETTLEMENT OF MAINE LAND CLAIMS DID NOT BRING PROSPERITY FOR PASSMAQUODDY'S AND PENOBSCOTS - BUT ATTORNEY PROSPERS!

Many of the Maine Indians are sorely disappointed that the land claims settlement did not improve life for them but did, in many ways, make life more difficult. Their reservation status has changed from being a state ward to an independent Maine municipality under the supervision of the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs. They have lost benefits, and rights as Native peoples as well as not gaining actual land bases for their people to build communities.

The level of frustration on the reservation has shown up in a wide range of responses varying from peaceful petitions to slashing tires and shooting cars.

J.H. Nicholas, tribal governor at Pleasant Point (Passamaquoddy) received a petition asking that the interest that will begin accumulating this year on the \$13.5 million being invested for the tribe as part of the settlement not be used for "large tribal projects involving great sums of money with big salaries for the directors of such tribal public projects." Instead, the petitioners requested that the interest monies "be divided monthly amongst the individual members of our tribe." This may reflect on the past winter when many of the people were going hungry and were without heat. Vandalism is a problem with three homes and an old school building having been burned as well as lights and windows being broken.

The bulk of the settlement was \$54.5 million which has been earmarked for the purchase of 300,000 acres of land which will be held in "trust" for the Maine Indians by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This land was purchased, but only 150,287 acres at the cost of \$29.6 million on April 23, 1981. Most of the land is in trust and all of the lands were bought from the Dead River Land Company of Maine. This land is earmarked for logging and lumbering industry - not for Maine Indians to occupy and build on.

Thomas Tureen, who worked for the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) at \$31,000 a year as the attorney for the Maine Indians during the land claims is now in private practice. He receives a total of \$100,000, half from the Passamaquoddy's and half from the Penobscots, as the attorney for the two tribes. Mr. Tureen is currently (as of March 25, 1981) listed on NARF stationery as "Of Counsel." When asked what does "Of Counsel" mean, NARF replied that Mr. Tureen is doing consulting work for NARF on the eastern land claims. As of Jan. 30, 1981 the Maine office of NARF has been closed. When asked if Mr. Tureen receives a salary from NARF for his consulting work, NARF would not directly answer the question but would state that he does receive "expenses." Mr. Tureen has indeed benefitted from the Maine land claim settlement.

John Echohawk, Executive Director of NARF sent the following letter to the Penobscot Nation:

March 25, 1981

Mr. Tim Love, Governor
Penobscot Nation
Community Building
Penobscot Indian Island
Old Town, Maine 04468

Dear Governor:

I appreciated the opportunity I had to appear at the March 16 Tribal Council meeting and request a contribution from the Tribe to support the work of the Native American Rights Fund. As a result, we are hopeful that the Tribe will consider a contribution of \$25,000, a small percentage of the Tribe's annual income from the settlement trust fund. Such a contribution would assist us in providing legal service to other tribes without funds in cases like yours, which required NARF expenditures of \$430,000 over eight years.



Enclosed is the information about NARF that was requested at the meeting. Included is the 1979 Annual Report and our FY 80 financial statements. In addition, specific information about other tribal contributions is provided here, since I could only guess at the figures during the meeting. In response to a 1978 request for contributions to about 40 tribes, we received five contributions as follows; \$500 from the Walker River Paiute Tribe of Nevada; \$100 from the Chemehuevi Tribe of California; \$500 from the Shoshone-Bannock Tribe of Idaho; \$500 from the Ute Tribe of the Uintah & Ouray Reservation in Utah; and \$10,000 from the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe of Nevada.

We would hope that any contribution from the Tribe would be for general support, i.e., not restricted for any particular purpose like tribal sovereignty cases, natural resources cases, water rights cases, land claims cases, etc., as was explored at the meeting by one questioner. An unrestricted contribution would enable us to use the funds on the cases most in need. This flexibility is especially important given our current budget deficit which may well leave some cases unfunded.

We look forward to hearing from you soon. Please let me know if you need any additional information.

Sincerely,
John E. Echohawk
Executive Director

In a telephone interview on May 14, 1981, the Penobscots stated that they have not as yet approved the \$25,000 requested by NARF. As the above letter clearly states, NARF is requesting a "contribution" (or repayment of debt) which is only a small sum compared to the \$430,000 expended for the land claims settlement. In a September 30, 1980 financial statement, NARF states that "NARF derives financial support from private foundations, The UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT and from public contributions." They have been paid well during their negotiating and now they are experiencing cut-backs in FEDERAL FUNDING and are trying to keep their financial level up to standards by implying that the Maine Indians owe them some type of debt. They have apparently done a fine job of instilling this attitude.

Gov. Nicholas of the Passamaquoddy's, when asked if he received a similar request from NARF, replied that he had not received a letter as yet but that he was "well aware of the debt we owe to NARF." He went on to say that although the issue had not come before the people as yet, he would try to pass a resolution before the tribal council to not only pay the \$25,000 but to continue to "repay NARF for the debt we owe NARF."

One has to question the morality of this request. Already the Maine Indians have exchanged all of their political rights as Native peoples for money, which means in effect, they have been terminated and now they are asked to see themselves as in debt to the attorneys who helped terminate them using FEDERAL FUNDS!!!

HANTA YO Revisited

(Editors: Writing to you in regards to the book HANTA YO, I request that you publish this commentary because of the respect I have for your newspaper and the purpose and clearness I see in the work you do. You provide a way by which us "down-home Indians" are able to express ourselves to large numbers of readers on issues of concern to us.)

I read HANTA YO over a couple months' time, and more than that, I translated the book into my own language, Lakota. I translated the saga with ease it is composed in the language structure you would be using were you speaking in Lakota.

I was able to relate to so much in this book, so I'm writing because if anyone wants to know what a "present-day Oglala" thinks about HANTA YO, I am the very one on this part of Pine Ridge qualified to speak my mind.

I have relatives without number and I have my father with me and my mother and uncles and grandpas and they all agree with me. They raised me to be the way I am. In the Slim Buttes Community along the White River in the southwestern Pine Ridge Reservation, we are all from old families of the Oglala people and we don't like to think of forgetting the roots of our lives.

I am writing from the direction of my grandfather with whom I lived until he died in 1965, and who taught me how to think about our people. He was Rex Holy Dance/Long Visitor, who was born in the winter of 1891. He was at the Wounded Knee massacre, seven months alive in his mother's belly, and they survived. I am writing too, from my other grandpa George Afraid of Bear, whose grandfather was the Afraid of Bear, brother to Sword, the Shirtweaver. When Sword died "in the days the people were alive," one of his brothers took his place and his name in the nation's house, George Sword. In Slim Buttes Community we are all from him. Four-tenths of a mile from my home is the site of the log cabin wherein Grandpa George Sword's life ended in 1910. He and Afraid of Bear were the old-day chiefs in this area on Pine Ridge. Because my son and his dozens of cousins around here are going to know where their life comes from, I want each of your readers to know that in this part of Oglala Country, we are perfectly capable of speaking for ourselves.

I write from these ones as my reference because they are all I have. I don't have college degrees or the expertise of these directors and professors who condemn HANTA YO as authentic farce. I heard my dad many times say that whatever a man does on his own land, it's all right. So on whatever level of PhDs these, educated people want to condemn HANTA YO, I guess it's all right. I guess it's all right too, for us who like the book to say so.

I think HANTA YO is a beautiful book. To me it is a very calming book. I could relate to the persons, places and things, the deep things, the mysteries, all that. Through the book I could look into the past and bring it to life, and together with the traditions of my family who were there, explore those long-ago times for myself. There is part of me always lonesome for those days when the people were alive, and it made me feel good - feel like living another day - to read HANTA YO. It is beautiful just because of the way my Grandpa Rex was, who took it upon himself to demonstrate to his family how life was very respectful, also how hard a thing it is to have respect.

Continued on Page 35

SHORT NOTES

NEVADA REFUSES NUKE WASTE

Return to sender — that's what the state of Nevada did with four truckloads of uranium-tainted waste which arrived at a nuclear waste burial site in October.

Several barrels and boxes of the radioactive waste were leaking, and others were in violation of disposal regulations requiring that they contain no liquid.

The entire shipment was returned to the United Nuclear Corporation's uranium recovery plant in Charlestown's uranium recovery plant in Charlestown, R.I. Local residents claim that U.N.C.'s handling of waste disposal is typical of the entire operation. Given the return of the leaky shipments by Nevada, residents want to know the condition of the waste remaining on the site, as well as how much leakage actually occurred during the 4000 mile truck ride across the country and back, and Gail Lepkowski of the Coalition for Consumer Justice at a recent demonstration.

A temporary ban on shipments of waste from U.N.C.'s Charlestown facility has been issued by R.I. Governor Garrahy, but now residents are worried that the facility may become what they fear most, a nuclear waste dump site. *Liberation News Service*

U.S. TO BUILD NERVE GAS PLANT

In a setback for arms control, Congress recently authorized \$3.15 million to begin construction of a nerve gas plant in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. The little-publicized vote reverses U.S. policy on the weapons, which since 1969 has been to freeze stockpiles and pursue negotiations on a comprehensive treaty to ban chemical warfare.

The congressional vote threatens to derail negotiations on the comprehensive treaty. In July, 1980, negotiators had achieved an important breakthrough when the two superpowers accepted the principle of on-site verification. A Geneva protocol of 1975 prohibits first use, but not production and stockpiling of chemicals or bacteriological weapons.

The U.S. currently has a stockpile of many thousand chemical shells, containing nerve gas already mixed. Although there have been a few publicized leaks and better maintenance procedures are needed, most of the shells are reported to be in relatively good shape.

The new Pine Bluff facility (which critics fear may eventually cost \$2 billion) was approved with little public debate and no congressional hearings. The nerve gas amendments were offered at the last moment by Representative Richard Ichord (D-Mo.) and Senator

Henry Jackson (D-Wash.). An attempt by Senator Gary Hard (D-Colo.) to shoot down Jackson's amendment lost 47-46. *Not Man Apart*

IROQUOIS IRONY

In a Montreal hall during a heated public conference with an Indian delegation, a Marxist member rose and asked the chief to quit the religious rituals before the meeting and proceed to the more serious matters.

Chief Tom Porter from St. Regis, Quebec then rose and said the following: "Very good sir, but first I will tell you a short story. In 1774, two men went to Albany to meet with the Iroquois confederation chiefs. For three days in a row they asked questions, took many notes and finally went back home. Right after they sat down and wrote a document. This paper later became the United States constitution. The two men were Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin. Later, Lewis Morgan, an anthropologist did a similar thing. He wrote a highly successful book, released in Europe. In this book they took what was pertinent to the Iroquois' constitution and from that proposed a new social order. The two men who did this were Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Therefore, sire you understand that it's not Marx's great grandson who will come and dictate the way to manage our business." The accuser sat back on his chair quietly and remained silent. (from *The Atlantean Era*, Feb. 27, 1980)

LETTERS:

MOHAWK PEOPLE,

How wonderful it is to read your very fine newspaper! Your courageous struggle for sovereignty and your consistency in maintaining tribal values even as you accompany the evolution of society are a source of hope and inspiration for us here among the Native Peoples of Brazil.

I myself am North American. My one great-grandmother was Mingo. The other was Cherokee. Having married outside the tribal situation neither of the two exerted strong influence on their families with the result that by my generation no one knows anything at all about our Indian origins — only that they exist. And now I am living and working among Brazilian Indians. Theirs is a story of constant exploitation and genocide. Some of them were present at the Russell Tribunal denouncing this just as your people were. My area of action covers the state of Para and the federal territory of Amapa. Altogether there are perhaps 10,000 or at most 12,000 Indians in this area. They are divided into 28 to 32 Nations and the various Nations divided into small villages. Occasionally you find a large village of 700 to 800. Our group works for all these Indians. I myself work more in the sector education, so I read with avid interest of your Freedom School. I am living among Karipuna Indians on the Curipi River and we are trying to form such a school here — an authentically Karipuna school. Our process is slow and perhaps a deal more primitive than yours. We are still in the phase of writing the language and developing a literature written in Karipuna. But we are hopeful for the future. Your experience is a stimulus to the Karipuna. Next year I'll go on to the Surui people on the Sororo River. Hopefully the process here among the Karipuna will continue to develop as yours has.

In materials we have very little and what we have is primitive and crude. But it is in keeping with our style of life and we are all very enthusiastic about our Karipuna school even though it is quite embryonic still. We carry on this work with donations and want to share a bit with you, partly to use your materials and partly to identify with your struggle. We believe in what you're doing and want to do it too. I'm sure the Karipuna will

write you soon. I'll be happy to be the translator. Please continue doing what you're doing. It is so good. We look forward to more news in Notes, and to receive our order from you.

United in the same struggle,
Sister Rebeca Spires, SND
Rio Curipi, Brazil

NOTES

In our nation's push to become less energy dependent on foreign sources, occasional dangerous sacrifices are being made. A case in point is the hellbound drive to develop uranium ore in Crownpoint, New Mexico.

Crownpoint is a town of 1,000 located 7,000 feet up in the Grants Uranium Belt. As the Eastern Navajo Agency Headquarters, its primary employers are involved in Indian Services, notably a Public Health Service hospital which attracts numbers of reservation residents each day. Ironically, in a few years a trip to the Crownpoint hospital may put a patient in greater danger than staying home and weathering the illness.

About 2,000 feet below Crownpoint and much of the surrounding area lies a uranium lode. Unfortunately, this is the same depth as the aquifer from which Crownpoint wells draw their water. A Conoco mine is now being drilled one-half mile from the center of town. When the drill reaches the uranium deposit, the dewatering process will begin. This will involve pumping the aquifer water from the mine in order to extract the ore. According to Conoco's own plan for discharge treatment, at full capacity the mine will be pumping over ten million gallons a day from the aquifer. This enormous drawdown will greatly intensify the problem of Crownpoint's (and much of the Southwest's) plummeting water table. A government official in charge of community wells has publicly stated that the water level may drop below the level of area wells in five years due to the mining. Conoco has thus far offered no concrete provision for restocking community water supplies.

Even if the mine does not use up all the

water so fast, it could contaminate the town's water supply for eons. Minerals such as oil and substances such as arsenic and selenium, as well as radioactivity leached from ores, could use mine shafts as access routes to water below. It's an irreversible process.

Perhaps as great a danger as pollution and depletion of water supplies posed by this backyard mine is the venting of radioactive radon 222 from the mine. While there are OSHA regulations relating to miners' exposure to this gas, no agency has established safe limits for the concentrations of radon 222 (and its daughters) in the air outside the mine. With a half-life of three days, radon could easily be carried as particulate matter to each Crownpoint resident.

Many people are concerned about the extent of uranium development in the Crownpoint area and the potential effects on our air and water quality. Within the next few years development calls for ten to fifteen uranium mines within a twenty-five mile radius of Crownpoint. Other of the town's residents who are worried by the Conoco mine are not opposed to uranium mining in general. Rather, it is the placement of this particular mine, literally across the street from three churches, so close to residences, that has upset so many people. There is a prevailing feeling of hopelessness, that nothing short of another Indian War could stop Conoco from digging for profit.

Donald Levering
P.O. Box 1449
Crownpoint, NM 87313
(505) 786-7343



SHORT NOTES

GOVERNMENT RUNS PROGRAM OF MURDER AND TORTURE IN GUATEMALA

According to Amnesty International a long established government program of murder and torture in Guatemala was run from an annex of the National Palace, under the direct control of President Romeo Lucas Garcia.

Some 3,000 people were found murdered after being seized in the first 10 months of 1980, and hundreds of others were missing. Amnesty International estimates that nearly 5,000 Guatemalans have been seized and killed since General Lucas Garcia became president in 1978.

The Guatemalan government attributes such killings to independent groups outside its control, but there is detailed evidence that they are carried out by the army and police.

Victims include people from all parts of Guatemalan society. The majority of victims were chosen after they had become associated — or were thought to be associated — with social, religious, community or labor organization, or after they had been in contact with organizers of national political parties. In other words, they tend to be selected from grassroots organizations outside official control — AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

A recent *Fifth Estate* show estimates that 40 Guatemalans per day are being tortured, mutilated and killed. It is becoming clear that it is the multinationals with US backing who are behind much of the killing.

BREAKING MEN'S MINDS



BEHAVIOR CONTROL AND HUMAN EXPERIMENTATION AT THE FEDERAL PRISON IN MARION, ILLINOIS

INTRODUCTION

The use of behavior control and human experimentation techniques against prisoners is on the rise in the U.S. Indefinite solitary confinement, sensory deprivation, forced druggings and mind-control techniques — these are the psychic billy clubs that are being used more and more to break prisoners and stop their attempts to fight deteriorating conditions in U.S. prisons.

The most ominous of these programs is the Long-term control unit at the Marion, Illinois Federal Prison — the replacement for Alcatraz as the maximum-security prison in America. Many men have been driven insane in this unit. In the past five years, nine have committed suicide in the unit just after being released.

Because of this growing crisis, the prisoners in the control unit, the Marion Brothers, have brought a precedent-setting class action suit against the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. Bono vs. Saxbe, which seeks to close the control unit permanently, was tried in 1975 in the federal courts. In April, 1978 the court ruled in favor of the Bureau of Prisons. While closing the notorious sensory deprivation boxcar cells, the court allowed the control unit to remain open. In fact, the court justified the use of the control unit with one of the oldest, most repressive legal doctrines — the doctrine of preventive detention. Under this doctrine, prisoners can be put in the control unit indefinitely on the basis of what behavior controllers call "predictive behavior" — that is they can "predict" that a prisoner will join a hunger strike, work stoppage, etc.

This decision is now being appealed. It is important that the Marion Brothers win. If the prison system wins, other control units like Marion's will be built. Even political activists who are imprisoned because of their work will be prime candidates for these units.

To let people know what that would mean one of the Marion Brothers has written this article. Eddie Griffin has been in the Marion control unit. Here is his story. (Editors' note)

Throughout the state and federal prison systems there are circulating stories and hearsay about the Marion, Illinois Federal Prison. These tales weave their way through the grapevine and, over a period of time and distance, become mystique and legendary—especially among young prisoners making their unfortunate debut into the system. It was not uncommon in 1972 at Terre Haute Federal Prison, for example, to hear young prisoners unfold myths about an "Underground prison" called Marion, where those who entered would never see the sun again until their release. Others would claim the Control Unit at Marion was underground and whoever was placed there would spend the rest of their sentence in it. No one really knew for sure because up until then, no prisoner returned to Terre Haute from Marion. Real or unreal, a dread grew up around the myths. Whatever existed behind the walls of Marion generated apprehension of a legal form of assassination.

Prison officials at other institutions cultivate and exploit these fears by threatening to send certain resistive prisoners to Marion. A man is told to conform to the institution or else he will be sent to Marion to have his behavior "corrected". The thought of being "corrected" by unknown means has a chilling effect on the senses and tends to sterilize any resistance which might exist in prison populations. Evidently, Marion was a control mechanism for the prison system — a penal cesspool wherein other institutions discarded their waste.

I was one of the so-called "incurables" who had come into conflict with Terre Haute officials and was threatened with being sent to Marion. After receiving an injury in the prison machine shop where I narrowly missed losing a finger, I was patched up, administered a painkiller, then sent back to work. There was almost a repeat of the same accident soon afterwards, so I decided to quit my work in the machine shop. I was immediately locked up in segregation for refusing to work, and for eight months, I continually refused to work until I was guaranteed a job change. But the administration declared that they would use me wherever they needed me. Prisoners do not control their institution. My insistence about the work hazard led to my being shipped to Marion, no doubt to have my obstinate behavior corrected.

A BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION LABORATORY

Upon first glance, Marion differed radically in its appearance from what one would believe from the horrid myths. The ominous sword of Damocles over the prison system appeared to be no threat. But the human eye can be deceived by what is contracted on the phenomenal level. A vague but bleak sensation invades a man's being when he passes through the grill doors into the prison's interior. Each electronically controlled grill seems to alienate him more and more from his freedom — even the hope of freedom. A sense of finality, of being buried alive, is raised to the supra-level of his consciousness. He tries to suppress it, but the clanging of each door leaves an indelible imprint on his psyche. This is the first evidence that Marion is more than a physical star-chamber. It is a modern "behavior modification laboratory."

Behavior modification at Marion consists of a manifold of four techniques: 1) Dr. Edgar Schein's brainwashing methodology 2) Skinnerian operant conditioning 3) Dr. Levinson's sensory deprivation design (i.e. Control Unit) and 4) Chemotherapy or drug therapy. And, as I will point out, the use of these techniques, the way they are disguised behind pseudonyms and under the philosophical rhetoric of correction, and even their modus operandi, violate the Nuremberg Code, the United Nations' Standard of Treatment for Offenders, the Department of Health Education and Welfare's policy on human experimentation and the 1st, 6th and 8th Amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The constructs of the prison are somewhat peculiar. And some not so outstanding features do not make the least economical sense, and are often totally out of physiological order. But these features, when viewed from a psychological angle, begin to take on new meaning. For example, the prison is minced into small sections and subsections, divided by a system of electronic and mechanical grills and further reinforced by a number of strategically locked steel doors. Conceivably, the population can be sectioned off quickly in times of uprising. But even for the sake of security the prison is laced with too many doors. Every few feet a prisoner is confronted by one. So he must await permission to enter or exit at almost every stop. A man becomes peeved. But this is augmented by the constant clanging which bombards his brain so many times a day until his nervous system becomes knotted. The persistent reverberation tends to resurrect and reinforce the same sensation, the same bleak feeling which introduced the individual to the Marion environment. It is no coincidence. This system is designed with conscious intent.

Every evening the "control movement" starts. The loudspeakers, which are scattered around the prison, resonate the signal: "The movement is on. You have ten minutes to make your move." The interior grill doors are opened, but the latitudes and limits of a man's mobility are sharply defined, narrowly constricted. His motion, the fluidity of his life, is compressed between time locks. There is a sense of urgency to do — what prisoners usually do — nothing. It is just a matter of time before the last remnants of a prisoner's illusion will soon become obliterated.

At the end of the ten-minute limit, the speakers blare out "The movement is over. Clear the corridor." The proceedings stop. Twenty minutes later the routine is repeated, and so on, until a man's psyche becomes conditioned to the movement/non-movement regimentation, and his nerves jingle with the rhythmic orchestration of steel clanging steel. It is, in prisoners' words, "part of the program" — part of a systematic process of reinforcing an unconditional fact of a prisoner's existence, i.e. that he has no control over the regulation and orientation of his own being. In behavioral psychology, this process is called "learned helplessness" — a derivative of Skinnerian operant conditioning (which are commonly called "learning techniques"). In essence, a prisoner is taught to be helpless, dependent on his overseer. He is taught to accept, without question, the overseer's power to control him. Such a notion rebels against human consciousness. So some prisoners seek some means of resistance. Others try to circumnavigate the omnipotent force via escape.

"This can be done either by removing the individual physically and preventing any communication with those whom he cares about, or by proving to him that those whom he respects aren't worthy of it and, indeed should be actively mistrusted."

But the omnipotent is also omnipresent. Nothing escapes Marion's elaborate network of "eyes". Between t.v. monitors, prisoner spies, collaborators, and prison officials, every crevice of the prison is overlaid by a constant watch. Front-line officers, specially trained in the cold, calculated art of observation, watch prisoners' movements with particular meticulousness, scrutinizing little details in behavior patterns, then recording them in the Log Book. This data provides the staff with keys on how to manipulate certain individuals' behavior. It is feasible to calculate a prisoner's level of sensitivity from the information so his vulnerability can be tested with a degree of precision. Some Behavior Modification experts call these tests "Stress Assessment"; prisoners call it harassment. In some cases, selected prisoners are singled out for one or several of these "differential treatment" tactics. He could have his mail turned back or "accidentally" mutilated. He could become the object of regular searches, or even his visitors could be "stripped searched". These and more tactics are consistent with those propagated by one Dr. Edgar Schein.



HISTORY OF THIS BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION LABORATORY

In 1962 at a meeting in Washington D.C. between scientists and prison wardens, Dr. Edgar Schein presented his ideas on brainwashing. Addressing the topic of MAN AGAINST MAN: BRAINWASHING, he said: "In order to produce marked changes of behavior and/or attitude, it is necessary to weaken, undermine, or remove the supports of the old patterns of behavior and the old attitudes. Because most of these supports are the face-to-face confirmation of present behavior and attitudes, which are provided by those with whom close emotional ties exist, it is often necessary to break those emotional ties. This can be done either by removing the individual physically and preventing any communication with those whom he cares about, or by proving to him that those whom he respects aren't worthy of it and, indeed should be actively mistrusted." Dr. Schein then provided the group with a list of specific examples:

- 1) Physical removal of prisoners to areas sufficiently isolated to effectively break or seriously weaken close emotional ties.
- 2) Segregation of all natural leaders.
- 3) Use of cooperative prisoners as leaders.
- 4) Prohibition of group activities not in line with brainwashing objectives.
- 5) Spying on prisoners and reporting back private material.
- 6) Tricking men into written statements which are then showed to others.
- 7) Exploitation of opportunists and informers.
- 8) Convincing prisoners that they can trust no one.
- 9) Treating those who are willing to collaborate in far more lenient ways than those who are not.
- 10) Punishing those who show uncooperative attitudes.
- 11) Systematic withholding of mail.
- 12) Preventing contact with anyone non-sympathetic to the method of treatment and regimen the captive populace.
- 13) Disorganization of all group standards among prisoners.
- 14) Building a group conviction among the prisoners that they have been abandoned by and totally isolated from their social order.
- 15) Undermining of all emotional supports.

16) Preventing prisoners from writing home or to friends in the community regarding the conditions of their confinement.

17) Making available and permitting access to only those publications and books that contain materials which are neutral to or supportive of the desired new attitudes.

18) Placing individuals into new and ambiguous situations for which the standards are kept deliberately unclear and then putting pressure on him to conform to what is desired in order to win favor and a reprieve from the pressure.

19) Placing individuals whose willpower has been severely weakened or eroded into a living situation with several others who are more advanced in their thought-reform whose job it is to further undermine the individual's emotional supports.

20) Using techniques of character invalidation, i.e. humiliations, revilements, shouting, to induce feelings of guilt, fear, and suggestibility coupled with sleeplessness, an exacting prison regimen and periodic interrogational interviews.

21) Meeting all insincere attempts to comply with cellmates pressures with renewed hostility.

22) Repeated pointing out to the prisoner by cellmates of where he was in the past, or is in the present, not even living up to his own standards or values.

23) Rewarding of submission and subservency to the attitudes encompassing the brainwashing objective with a lifting of pressure and acceptance as a human being.

24) Providing social and emotional supports which reinforce the new attitudes.

Following Dr. Schein's address, then-director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, James V. Bennett, commented, "...one of the things we must do is more research. It was indicated that we have a large organization with some 24,000 men in it now and that we have a tremendous opportunity here to carry on some of the experimenting to which the various panelists have alluded. We can manipulate our environment and culture. We can perhaps undertake some of the techniques Dr. Schien discussed. Do things on your own. Undertake a little experiment with what you can do with the Muslims. There's a lot of research to do. Do it as individuals. Do it as groups and let us know the results."



EXPERIMENTATION IN ACTION

That was 15 years ago. Since then "the results" have been compiled and evaluated many times over and all but one of Dr. Schein's suggested techniques have been left intact at Marion — along with the addition of a few new features.

According to the Bureau of Prisons' policy statement (Oct. 31, 1967) which, after a test period, finally sanctioned experimentation on prisoners, the benefit from any experiments must be "clear in terms of the mission and collateral objectives of the Bureau of Prisons" and "for the advancement of knowledge". In other words, prisoners are expected to feel inspired at the thought of "advancing knowledge" to benefit science and corrections. But what prisoner knows that he is aiding and abetting the development of Behavior Modification techniques to be used in controlling and manipulating not only other prisoners, but also segments of the public? Besides other things, he is denied knowledge of what he is involved in — or rather forced into. The truth of Behavior Modification is that it is applied to prisoners secretly and sometimes remotely (via manipulation of the environment).

At Marion these techniques are applied for punitive purposes, and only one subsection of the prison population is allowed any relief. First, a man's emotional and family ties are broken by removing him to the remote area of southern Illinois and by a rule whereby he can't correspond with community people within a 50 mile radius. Sometimes the rule slackens, but when the correspondence expresses ideological perspectives it is enforced more strictly. Families of prisoners who move into the area are often discriminated against and harassed by government agencies. Visitors complain of being intimidated by prison officials, especially when the visits are interracial. Children are repressed in the visiting room. And on three occasions, a man's wife who had travelled from Puerto Rico was stripped and searched. This incident caused great concern among prisoners because it could happen to any one of their wives, mothers or children. Another tactic used to break a prisoner down is to punish him by removing family and friends from his visiting list, or by placing him on restrictive visits. These types of visits are conducted in an isolated, partitioned booth across a telephone. Such restrictions often discourage families from visiting, especially when they have to travel long distances to visit. Officially, close family ties are encouraged practically, they are being severed. And more often than not, a man's family is looked upon and treated with the same disdain as a "criminal".

Another method of separating prisoners from friends and outside supporters is the two-faced campaign waged by the prison administration. On the one side prisoners are told they have been totally rejected by society and that even those who "pretend" to be interested in prisoners are "only using prisoners for their own selfish benefit". By this a prisoner is supposed to believe he was never a part of a community or of society in general, that his ties among the people were never legitimate and that their interest in him is a fraud. On the other side, a brutish, bestial, and "sociopathic" image of prisoners is presented to the public. The horror image further alienates the people from the captive and sometimes causes a family to fear their own loved ones. This further isolates the prisoner and makes him more dependent on the prison authorities.

But discernment into this sophisticated system is the furthest thing from a prisoner's imagination, or even his comprehension. It is impossible for him to conceive the total essence of his being, his human worth and dignity being reduced in the eyesight of humanity to the level of an amoeba and placed under a microscope. He can't understand why he feels the strange sensation of being watched why it seems that "eyes" follow him around everywhere. He fears his sanity is in jeopardy, that paranoia is taking hold of him. It shows the tension in his face, the wide-eyed apprehensive stares and spastic body movements. Among the general population, paranoia tends to spread like wildfire — from man to man. Everyone knows that the paranoid is a walking state of danger. His moon is wrong, and it throws everything and everyone else out of equilibrium. The small world cannot contain the imbalance. A general alarm is sent out in hopes that someone can reach the individual before the chain-reaction ends with disaster. Sometimes the attempt is successful, sometimes not. In any case, the induced state of paranoia is the primary cause of the violence which has occurred throughout Marion's history.

The pervasive "eyes" at Marion are not without the complement of "ears". Besides officers' eavesdropping and the inside spies trying to collect enough intelligence to make parole, there are also listening devices out of view. The loudspeakers, for example, are also receivers, capable of picking up loose conversations in the hallways, cellblocks and mess hall. Recently a strange device which someone called a "Parabolic mike" was found. It is hard to figure out exactly how many more such devices are scattered around the prison, embedded in the wall or situated behind cells. The administration is noted for collecting an enormous amount of information on prisoners, some of which could only be gathered from such eavesdropping methods.

Sometimes a prisoner is confronted with the information in order to arouse suspicion about the people he has talked with. At other times, the information is kept secret among officials, and traps are set.

Most sacred of all is a man's ideas. It is a standing rule among the prisoners. Never let the enemy know what you are thinking. A man's ideas, his private thoughts are his most vulnerable point of entry. At Marion, a man is labelled by his ideas, and his "differential treatment" is plotted accordingly. Thus, if a man's expressed ideas are at variance with the ideas and perception of the prison administration, Behavior Modification is used on him to reconcile the difference.

What life boils down to is an essay in psychological warfare. An unsuspecting, unequipped prisoner — a prisoner unable to adjust and readjust psychologically and develop adequate defense mechanisms can be taken off stride and wind up as another one of Marion's statistics. Prison officials and employees come well prepared, well trained, pre-conditioned, and well aware of the fact that a war is being waged behind the walls.



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BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION AND THE MISUSE OF THERAPY TECHNIQUES

A new phenomenon is taking shape within the prison confines, and an age-old myth is being dispelled. No longer can prisoners be characterized as mindless imbeciles needing someone (on a superior level) to define right and wrong for them or to chaperone them so they won't kill each other off. The old theory of socio-pathology (supposedly prisoners' mode of action) is carrying the behavioral school of psychology to ruins. The school is based on the premise that the empirical world determines man's course of action, that man is only capable of reacting to the stimuli of his environment and since he is only a higher form of animal and, essentially, there is no qualitative difference between the two, he is like a sheep following his animalistic instincts and that over a period of time of reacting in the same way to the same stimuli all the time, his behavior becomes habitual and sociopathic. This would be true if man were not a thinking, cognitive being. However, through his cognition and rationalization, he can not only transform his environment into something new, but also transform himself into something new, into a different social being. Prisoners are making this transformation.

This situation has led to a reverse in social polarity between prisoners and prison authority. The disorder and perversions which do exist at Marion are largely spawned by the abnormal conditions in the prison system are, ironically, nurtured by it. This reinforces the need for paternal authority. In essence, it legitimizes it. On the other hand, the "clandestine" socialistic influences in the prison, which advocate a change away from the perversions and abnormalities, are deemed a threat to the existing order. So they are repressed and/or modified into conformity. How does this take place?

There is a small, elite group in the prison population which is looked upon by the administration with great favor because the group shares the same basic ideals with the administration. The group's members see the prison authority as a "parent". They think of themselves as "residents" rather than prisoners or captives — because to change the word is to change the reality. And they believe that the program in which they are being trained will make them "qualified therapeutic technicians" and help them secure a change in residency.

At Marion, this program is called Asklepieion — which literally means nothing. The prisoners call the group "groders" or "groder's gorillas", named after the psychologist who implemented Dr. Schein's brainwashing program.

The "groders" live in a special cellblock which, by prison standards, is plush. They are allowed luxuries and privileges which regular prisoners can't receive. They, however, are convinced that they "earn" these things because they are trying to do something to "better themselves". Generally, they look on other convicts with contempt. When confronted with evidence that they are a brainwash group, they reject the proof and accuse other prisoners of being envious.

But the reality speaks for itself. The program employs a number of noted therapeutic techniques, e.g. Transactional Analysis, Synanon Attack-therapy, psycho-drama, Primal therapy, and Encounter Group Marathon Sensitivity sessions. The administration's favorite is T.A. Essentially T.A. propagates the theory that people communicate on three different levels: parent, child and adult. These become character roles. It is up to the corresponding party to figure out which role the first party is playing, then communicate with the person on the proper counter-part level.

What this technique actually does is create an artificial dichotomy between people, each straining to fit into the proper character role. Thus, communications becomes artificial, stilted and utterly meaningless in its content. Everyone sounds like a pseudo-intellectual. Ultimately, it propagates the idea that the authorities always fit the role of a "parent" and the prisoners must submit to the role of a "child". Although some "groders" pretend this practice is a fakeout on "the man", it still is a real social practice. Changing the words to describe it doesn't change the reality.

Other techniques include Dr. Schein's "character invalidation". These techniques are incorporated under the auspices of "Game Sessions" (Synanon Attack Therapy) and "Marathons" (Encounter group sensitivity sessions). In "Game Sessions", members of the group accuse a person of playing games, not being truthful with the group, lying or he is accused of some misdeed or shortcoming. Before he is allowed a chance to explain (which is considered as only more lying), he is barraged by dirty-name calling until he confesses or "owns up" to his shortcomings. He is then accused of making the group go through a lot of trouble in having to pry the truth out of him. So, for this crime he is forced to apologize.

"Marathons" are all-night versions of literally the same, except that they include local community people who come into the prison to be "trained" in the techniques. After so many hours of being verbally attacked and denied sleep, a person "owns up" to anything and accepts everything he's told. After being humiliated, he is encouraged to cry. The group then shows its compassion by hugging him and telling him that they love him.





"The purpose of the Marion control unit is to control revolutionary attitudes in the prison system and in the society at large."

These techniques exploit the basic weaknesses in human (aggregative) nature, especially those weaknesses produced by an alienating society, i.e. the need to be loved, cared about, accepted by other people, and the need to be free. In turn, they are transmuted into "submission and subservience", the type of behavior conducive to the prison officials' goal of control and manipulation. The "groders" will not resist or complain. Nor will they go on a strike to seek redress of prisoners' grievances. They are alienated from their environment, and their emotional interdependency welds and insulates them into a crippled cohesion (of the weak bearing the weak). They aren't permitted to discuss these techniques outside the group because one of the pre-conditions for admittance is a bond to secrecy. Yet almost anyone can spot a "groder" because the light has gone out in his eyes. He literally wears the look of humiliation.

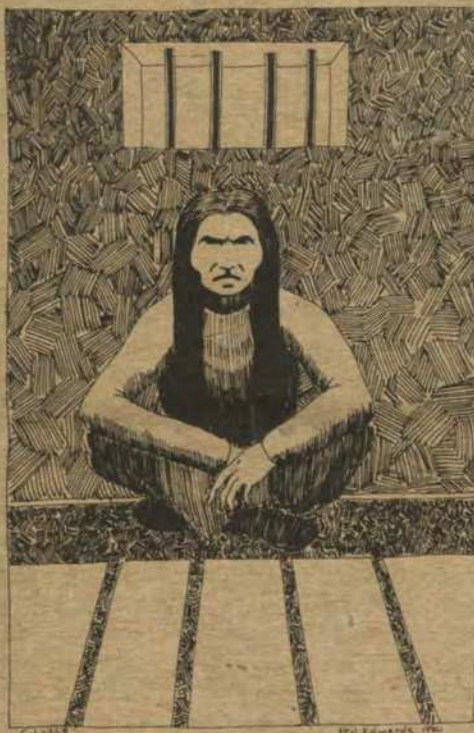
Some years ago, the prison population wanted to do them bodily harm because they allowed themselves to be used as guinea pigs, and because the techniques developed would be used on other prisoners and other people in the outside world. In their lust for freedom, they would sell out an entire generation. Today, they are generally looked upon as mental enemies. So prisoners just leave them alone. Nevertheless, the brainwashing techniques are still finding their way into communities in the outside world — under a number of pseudonyms other than Asklepion. And the "groders" still have hopes of joining these programs when they are sufficiently spread. They will become "therapeutic technicians". This is what Dr. Groder laid out in his "Master Plan", the utilizing of prisoners as couriers of the technique back into the community. It is also what former warden Ralph Aron meant when he testified at the 1975 Bono vs. Saxbe trial (to close the Control Unit) that "the purpose of the Marion control unit is to control revolutionary attitudes in the prison system and in the society at large."

What the "groders" fail to realize is that even as "therapists" they will remain under observation long after their release from prison — under what is euphemistically called "post-release follow-through".

Even the implication of freedom as an inducement for volunteers is considered a means of coercion by the Nuremberg Code standards. The Code states "...the protagonists of the practice of human experimentation justify their views on the basis that such experiments yield results for the good of society that are unprocurable by other methods or means of study. All agree, however, that certain basic principles must be observed in order to satisfy moral, ethical, and legal concepts." The first principle in the Code proclaims: "voluntary consent of the human subject is absolutely essential. This means that the person involved should have legal capacity to give consent should be situated as to be able to exercise free power of choice, without the intervention of any element of force, fraud, deceit, duress, overreaching or other ulterior form of constraint or coercion and should have sufficient knowledge and comprehension of the elements of the subject matter involved as to enable him to make an understanding and enlightened decision...Before the acceptance of an affirmative decision by the experimental subject, there should be made known to him the nature, duration and purpose of the experiment..." There is much that is not explained or accounted for at Marion. Prisoners are left to discover it all on their own — via studying the prison and the prison system's history. In light of most of the surprise discoveries one makes when learning this history, it should come as no surprise that Marion is at variance with the Nuremberg Code.

CHEMOTHERAPY THE MISUSE OF DRUGS

Chemotherapy is conducted four times daily at Marion. The loudspeaker announces "Control medication in the hospital...pill line." Valium, librium, thorazin and other "chemical billy-clubs" are handed out like gumdrops. Sometimes the drugs mysteriously make their way into the food. For example, the strange month of December, 1974 recorded five unrelated, inexplicable stabbings. During the same time, eight prisoners suffered from hallucinations in the "hole" and had to be treated (with thorazine injections). Drugs are often prescribed for minor ailments and are commonly suggested to prisoners as a panacea for all the psychological ill-effects of incarceration. Some drugs such as prolixin make prisoners want to commit suicide. Some attempt it some succeed.



THE END OF THE LINE: THE LONG-TERM CONTROL UNIT

Segregation is the punitive aspect of the Behavior Modification program. It is euphemistically referred to as "aversive conditioning". In short, prisoners are conditioned to avoid solitary confinement, and to do this (avoid solitary that is) requires some degree of conformity and cooperation. But the "hole" remains open for what prison authorities and Dr. Schein call "natural leaders". These prisoners can be pulled from population on "investigation" and held in solitary confinement until the so-called investigation is over. During the whole ordeal, he is not told what the inquiry is about — unless he is finally charged with an infraction of the rules. If the prison authorities think that the Behavior Modification techniques will eventually work on the prisoner, he is sent to short-term segregation. If not, they use the last legal weapon in the federal prison system: the long-term control unit.

The long-term control unit is the "end of the line" in the federal prison system. Since there is no place lower throughout all of society, it is the end of the line for society also. Just as the threat of imprisonment controls society, so is Marion the control mechanism for the prison systems ultimately, the long-term control unit controls Marion. Prisoners in the unit can feel the heaviness of this burden, knowing that it is a long way back to the top.

Usually a prisoner doesn't know specifically why he has been sent to the Control Unit, other than that his ideological beliefs or his personal attitude toward prison authority is somehow "wrong". And he usually doesn't know how long he will be in the control unit. A prisoner is told he is being placed on 30-day observation and that he has the right to appeal the decision if he wishes. Until recently, most prisoners simply waived the appeal because they were given the impression that they would be getting out soon. One particular prisoner was told by the Control Unit Committee that he would be getting out of the control unit after the observation period because they "needed the room". Later, he was given an indefinite period in the unit — which is the case with most prisoners.

In the control unit a prisoner does only two things — recreate and shower. Only one range of men (18 out of 72) is allowed to work. Although everyone recognizes that the work is exploitative, it is generally considered a privilege. The rest of the control unit prisoners spend 23½ hours a day locked in their cells (which are smaller than the average dog kennel). According to what state the man's mind is in, he may read or write. He sees the Control Unit committee for about 30 seconds once a month to receive a decision on his "adjustment rating". He may see a caseworker to get papers notarized, the counselor to get an administrative remedy (complaint) form and a phone call authorization (on a "maybe" basis). He may see the educational supervisor for books. Other than that, he deteriorates.

The cell itself contains a flat steel slab jutting from the wall. Overlaying the slab is a one-inch piece of foam wrapped in coarse plastic. This is supposed to be a bed. Yet it cuts so deeply into the body when one lays on it that the body literally reeks with pain. After a few days, you are totally numb. There is no longer intercommunication between sense organs and the brain. The nervous system has carried so many pain impulses to the brain until obviously the brain refuses to accept any more signals. Feelings become indistinct, emotions unpredictable.

The monotony makes thoughts hard to separate and capsule. The eyes grow weary of the scene, and shadows appear around the periphery, causing sudden reflexive action. Essentially, the content of a man's mind is the only means of defense in terms of his sanity.

Besides these methods of torture (which is what they are), there is also extreme cold conditioning in the winter and lack of ventilation in the summer. Hot and cold water manipulation is carried out in the showers. Shock waves are administered to the brain when guards bang a rubber mallet against the steel bars. Then there is outright brutality, mainly in the form of beatings. The suicide rate in the Control Unit is five times the rate in general population at Marion.

At the root of the Control Unit's Behavior Modification Program, though, is indefinite confinement. This is perhaps the most difficult aspect of the Control Unit to communicate to the public. Yet a testament to this policy was a man named Hiller "Red" Hayes. After 13 years in solitary confinement (nearly six in the control unit), he became the "boogie man" of the prison system — the living/dying example of what can happen to any prisoner. The more he deteriorated in his own skeleton, the more prisoners could expect to wane in his likeness. He died in the unit in August, 1977.

In essence, the Unit is a Death Row for the living. And the silent implications of Behavior Modification speak their sharpest and clearest ultimatum: CONFORM OR DIE:



Peltier Escape Conviction Overturned

A California appeals court has ruled that Indian leader Leonard Peltier did not receive a fair trial before federal Judge Lawrence Lydick when he was convicted of escape from prison and possession of an illegal weapon in December of 1979. During that trial, Peltier claimed that he had escaped from Lompoc federal prison because he had learned of a plot to murder him inside the prison. Judge Lydick, however, refused to allow evidence of the murder plot, before the jury including the testimony of 12 inmates who offered first-hand knowledge of the plot.

Peltier (see NOTES Winter issue) had been serving two life sentences in maximum security Marion Federal prison for allegedly aiding and abetting in the deaths of two FBI agents who were killed in a 1975 gun battle on Pine Ridge Indian reservation in South Dakota. Two of Peltier's co-defendants in that case were tried separately and acquitted after evidence surfaced suggesting that the dead agents had initiated the fight and that the government had falsified material and testimonial evidence.

Peltier, however, was tried before Judge Paul Benson in North Dakota who refused to allow the evidence of FBI and government misconduct into the courtroom. Convicted and sent to Marion prison, Peltier then learned of the plot to murder him. Fellow inmate Robert Wilson (AKA Standing Deer) confessed to Peltier that he had agreed to murder the Indian leader in exchange for favors from a prison official, R.M. Carey, and an unidentified "well-dressed stranger." Standing Deer had six Oklahoma felony charges dropped as part of the assassination deal.



Photo by Shelly A. McIntire

The plot called for Peltier and Standing Deer — both supposedly dangerous criminals in the eyes of the bureau of prisons — to be transferred from Marion to the minimum security facility at Lompoc California. Standing Deer, according to his subsequent testimony, was to arrange an escape attempt at Lompoc and then inform the prison authorities so that Peltier could be killed at the fence. Hearing this, Peltier decided to go along with the plot, but to escape earlier than originally planned.

After the transfer to Lompoc, Peltier and two trusted friends, Bobbie Garcia and Dallas Thundershield, escaped over the fence on July 20, 1979. Thundershield was shot and killed, Garcia was immediately captured, and Peltier was captured four days later. With the court refusing to hear any of the evidence substantiating the murder plot, Peltier was convicted of escape and sentenced to seven years in addition to the two-lifetimes.

The three-judge appeals panel (federal Judges Goodwin, Anderson and Gilliam of the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, Central District of California) voted 3-0 in favor of Peltier's request for a new trial. In their decision they ruled that Peltier had been denied the right to cross-examine FBI agents who "may have been interested in prosecuting the defendant for reasons other than violation of law."

The appeals court also ruled that Peltier was denied the right to base a defense on "duress," because of the murder threat. They also ruled that Peltier was not given an opportunity to prove the murder plot. If the government does not consent to a new trial then the charges against Peltier must be dismissed. If they consent to a new trial, Peltier will be able to present evidence of the plot to murder him, implicating prison officials. Peltier's lawyers predict that the government will choose to let the matter drop rather than reopen the potentially embarrassing case.

Peltier's lawyers are also seeking a new trial in the original conviction for aiding and abetting first degree murder, being in possession of evidence which implicates government and FBI officials in falsification of evidence and coercion of witnesses. In the meantime Peltier waits in the hole — a small cell used for punishment of prisoners — at Marion Federal prison in Marion, Illinois.



CONTROL UNITS SPREADING LIKE CANCER

The NCSB has always maintained that the Marion long-term control unit is an experimental model for similar facilities and programs being established in state and federal prisons across America and that the "control and containment" policy that has prevailed at Marion ever since it replaced Alcatraz in 1962 would soon dominate the entire American prison system unless it was challenged and discredited. A society built on gross inequalities, racism, sexism and economic exploitation, yet challenged by movements for peace and freedom through out the world — such a society, this society, has made Marion a modern prison model just as it made Vietnam a modern war model or Cointelpro a modern law enforcement model.

The Marion model is being copied—relentlessly. The federal prison system now has three new control units. Alderson, West Virginia's Federal Prison for Women, Otisville, New York and Talladega, Alabama now have control units. All were opened in the last year or so. In addition, prisoner rights advocated in the Northeast report that the U.S. Bureau of Prisons(BOP) is helping to establish a regional "special offenders" prison in that area. This will undoubtedly be a Marion-type prison.

A number of states are taking up the control and containment approach too. One example is Michigan which in 1973 built the "Michigan Intensive Program Center" (MIPC) in Marquette on Michigan's upper peninsula. The MIPC public relations manual says this about MIPC operations.

MIPC resembles a wheel, the hub of which houses the main control center, and the four wings radiate like spokes. The Control Center area has four electronic panels, from which the locking and unlocking devices, lights, radios and two way communications systems for the four wings are controlled. MIPC...offers a behavior modification (token economy) treatment program, designed to help residents conform to prison life and learn more acceptable behavior when they leave prison."

Other control units exist in New Jersey and Georgia (H-House). Arizona and New Mexico have plans for similar units. More research will undoubtedly turn up many more throughout the country. This is the cancer we're trying to fight when we fight to close the Marion control unit — the first and biggest tumor of them all.

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Native "The Good Mind" Child

It was a good day to pick white corn. The fields were dry and the air was ripe with the smell of harvest. When the harvest smell is in the air, it can't be described with words, but if you have ever planted your own food you know the special quality of harvest air. I was fourteen years old that harvest time and I was beginning to wonder about becoming a woman, a special kind of woman with a good mind, just like my Grandma. In our traditional ways it is important to be a good-minded person and the woman holds a special place because she chooses the male leaders in her clan. I wondered how it is that a woman becomes strong and wise in her decisions. Is she born with wisdom, strength and a good mind? Does she have to learn about these ways? Does it come with age? These questions were too big for me so I went to see my Grandmother who is also a clan mother for the Wolf clan.

"Hi, Grandma," I said as I entered her house. "I have some thoughts and some questions I would like to share with you."

"Come with me then Ioaweia, we'll go pick some white corn while we are talking. There are two pack baskets in the hallway, bring them along with you," Grandma said as we started for the field behind her house.

As we walked I asked her my questions about how to be a good-minded person and how to get wisdom and how to be a strong, good woman.

We began to pick corn as Grandma began telling me that before we lived in individual households, we lived in longhouses with the woman of our clan. When a girl married, her husband moved into her longhouse with her family. Their children would be the same clan as the mother. This is the way among the Haudenosaunee, the Iroquois people. I wanted to say that answer didn't really answer my questions. I was so anxious to have an instant answer, but among our people it often takes a long time to receive the answer or sometimes she would tell me a story and the answer would be in the story.

Grandma continued, telling me that the household and the fields belonged to the women. It was the women's responsibility to plant the fields, take care of the crops, harvest and preserve the food. This gave the women control over much of the food supply in the village. It also meant that the women had to work together, with a strong good mind in order to make sure the crops were successful. The season began with the special seed ceremony before planting time. When the people lived together in longhouses they planted huge fields of white corn. An older woman was in charge of assigning certain rows or sections of the fields to women and she had to make sure they worked together to plant the fields.

Corn, beans and squash are known as Our Sustainers, Our Supporter, Those We Live On, and as the Three Sisters. Each of these foods is a special gift from the Creator. The corn was planted in a hill and the beans were planted later so that the vines could wrap around the corn plant. The squash or pumpkin vines grew along the ground near the corn and beans. Even today some of the old people still plant this way.

Grandma told me a story of long ago that is said to come from the Onondaga's. She told me that there was once a fine looking young man who represents the corn spirit in this story only. In all the other corn stories the corn is female. He lived on a small hill all alone and he wished to marry. He had flowing robes, and wore long plumes, or leaves, so that he was a fine looking young man. Every morning and evening he sang this song three times "Che hen, he hen, Sone Ke Kwah no wah ho ten ah you ke neah. Say it, Say it. Some one I will marry." He thought he did not care who his wife would be, he only cared to marry. He sang his song every morning and evening for a long time and still he did not marry and he was a lonely young man.

Finally, when he had almost given up hope, a tall beautiful young woman came with her hair neatly braided. Her flowing green dress was decorated with large golden bells and her beads did shine like drops of dew. The young man stopped his song. She said to him, "I am the woman you have been looking for and I have come to marry you." But he looked at her and said, "No, you are not the one I have been looking for. You wander much from home and run over the ground so fast that I cannot keep by your side. I cannot marry you." So the pumpkin spirit maiden went away. The young man began to sing his song again and he was still lonely.

One day a thin young woman appeared. Her beautiful dress was spotted with lovely clusters of flowers. She heard his song and came closer to him. She said that she could love dearly a man so manly and would marry him if in turn he would love her. He stopped singing his song, looked at her closely and was pleased with her. He said she was the one for whom he had waited so long, they met with a loving embrace. Ever since that time the bean spirit maiden wraps around the corn, he supporting her and she cherishing him. Even in death they are not parted because the beans and corn are combined in corn bread and corn soup.



Photo by Andre Lopez



"This packbasket is really getting heavy Grandma," I said as I sat the basket down and sat down to rest. Grandma laughed and told me that for a young girl I was quitting much too early.

"Ioaweia, if you want to learn about wisdom, strength and good mindedness you must be able to work hard and to enjoy your work. Just think about all the delicious corn soup, parched corn mush and corn bread we will make this winter from the corn you are picking now."

As I started picking corn again, she told me that in those old days of living together in a longhouse the young girls learned all the things I wanted to know by living with and listening to the older women in the household.

"Ioaweia, being a good-minded person means that you must believe in the goodness of people. Do not speak harsh or untrue words of another person. Think good thoughts and your heart will be light and your mind will be good."

She told me that the corn we were harvesting would not grow in poor soil and if we neglected the corn it would be all grown in woods and the crop would be very poor, if there was a crop at all.

"We must care for one another, nurture each other, take care of one another. That is why we make decisions so that the results will be good for a long time to come, for seven generations to come. Just as we work hard to take care of our crops because they sustain us so must we work hard to take good care of the human beings in our life because they also sustain us."

Suddenly I realized why she told me the story about the young man and the bean maiden. They supported and cherished each other in life, and they sustain us in the corn soup, just as we should support, cherish and sustain the people in our lives.

As I walked home that evening, I realized that my Grandma was indeed a very wise, strong and good-minded woman. I felt very fortunate to have such a Grandma and made up my mind to be like her as much as possible.

Carol Cornelius Mohawk

(Onondaga corn story adapted from W.M. Beauchamp "Indian Corn Stories and Customs", Journal of American Folklore.)

The book details a time period of Hunka, the underlying bond of our culture, the one embodied as a sacred rite given to us so we will live. Through these Hunka ways we were accustomed to choose and not choose, and to demonstrate how life was very respectful in how the people got along. The leaders of our nation's house were the ones Hunka to the most family networks and this book does justice to that very important bond of our culture. People choosing you for the way you are, and extending respect to others, is still how many families around here conduct themselves one with another. Hunka is a foundation we must yet depend on and we should welcome all the attention writers give to Hunka, the main theme, to my mind, of *HANTA YO*.

I like the author's level of understanding the forces at work 150 - 200 years ago, the detail of her research, and the attentions she focuses on institutions such as Shirtweavers that I have heard things about at home and have seen nothing of in anyone else's writings. The book satisfies me that it is an authentic immersion in our grandfathers' world circa 1794 /1835. I think that surely many things in the book can be challenged as not being within someone or other's tradition, but so what, the things might have happened just as much as not have happened. Who knows.

What kind of truth are they seeking, that condemn *HANTA YO*? Do they not see themselves in the book? What good do they have to tell us that we should listen to them argue Theology. Why didn't some prominent/capable Indian Male author do this research and writing? Why aren't they doing it, for us? What's more important to them, but anyway it doesn't matter. What does matter are those Black Hills and our educated directors and professors better get their energies focused on that business or they better be replaced. In everything we do, say, write, etc., we are supposed to reflect our upbringing. We should be mistrustful of someone who reflects in their work any of the family violence or other deteriorations in our midst.

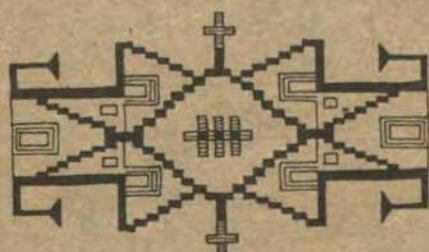
I cannot accept or agree with the disrespectful comments toward the author of *HANTA YO* Mrs. Hill. The ones doing that sound like they are having problems with their own emotions. They sound like they desperately need publicity for their own purposes. None of them, I don't care how educated they are, speak for us living on this ground.

I recommend this book to each and every one of you. Take and spend valuable time with it, allow yourself to listen to it, remembering that after all, nothing for "documented surety" can be said of the state of mind of that long-ago period. Then by all means, pursue your feelings and intelligence. Read the classics about us *BLACK ELK SPEAKS, CRAZY HORSE-THE STRANGE MAN OF THE OGLALAS, THE SACRED PIPE-BLACK ELK'S ACCOUNT OF THE SEVEN RITES OF THE OGLALA SIOUX*. Remember that these books too were compiled by full-blood whites but above all, remember and take hold of the truths in these books.

I, who own a birthright to speak of these things, who know how I am related to the Shirtweavers - the owners of the people in those days - I commend to you this book *HANTA YO*.

Loretta Afraid of Bear/Cook President,

Loretta Afraid of Bear/Cook
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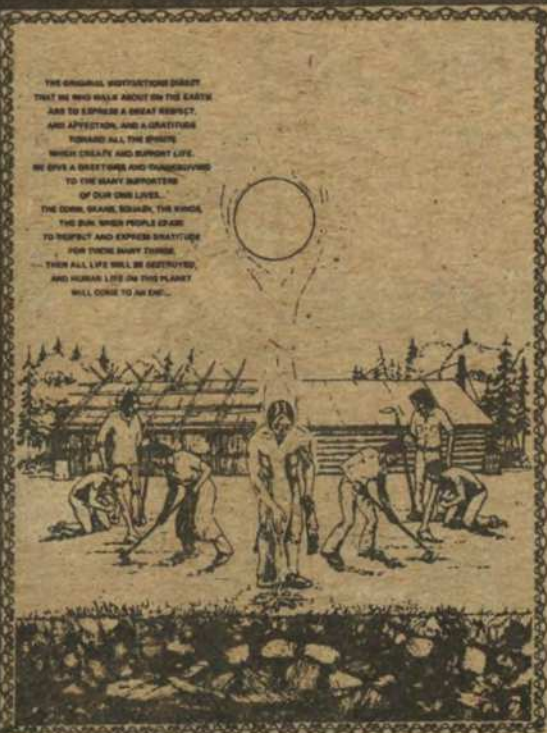
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